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APRIL, 1837.

ART. I.—*Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country (America); with Reasons for preferring Episcopacy.* By Rev. Calvin Colton. New York, 1836.

“GOD sends us bishops, whether we will have them or not.”—These are the words of one whose writings, of late, have attracted no inconsiderable notice;* and they are cited by the author of the little volume now before us, as illustrative of his own recently-adopted views, on the subject of Episcopacy. They might, with singular propriety, have been prefixed, as a motto, to his publication. They really may be said to contain nearly the whole pith and marrow of his very important and interesting work.

Mr. Calvin Colton is already well known, as a writer, to the British public. The readers of this journal, more especially, may remember that, so long ago as the year 1832, during his residence in England, he put forth a small volume, intitled, “History and Character of American Revivals of Religion;” which volume formed the subject of somewhat copious remark in this journal. We may, perhaps, be forgiven for repeating, here, the sentences with which our observations were closed; since they briefly describe the temper which, in our judgment, ought to preside over all such inquiries and discussions; and which, as we venture to hope, was, in no instance, violated or forgotten by us, throughout the whole of our strictures on his work. Our words were as follows:—“We earnestly entreat “Mr. Colton and his brethren to be assured that, if we have “occasionally used some honest freedom of speech, in our examination of his book, we have not been prompted to it by a “spirit of ungracious disregard for his principles, and his con-

* The author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm*.

"victions. We may, perhaps, in his judgment, be too powerfully influenced by an attachment to the time-honoured institutions and practices of our own country; but we are totally unconscious of any motive so utterly hateful, as a desire to insult and exasperate the Americans, or a pitiful ambition to be numbered among their detractors."*

If it were possible that the exercise of charity and moderation *could* be worthy of reward, that reward we should most abundantly find in the present publication of Mr. Colton: for this publication has brought us into contact with one endowed with that rare species of moral courage, which enables a man to stand forward, boldly, in the face of the world, and to say, that he has seen good reason for a material change in the opinions which he formerly cherished and professed. In 1832, Mr. Colton was not only the avowed advocate and defender of Revivalism,—he was a firm and honest believer in Revivalism, as something little short of a new and divine dispensation. In 1836, he appears again before the public, to apprise them of certain very important modifications, which intervening experience has effected in his original persuasion; and to administer a solemn caution to the world against the evils, unspeakable and manifold, which the spirit of wild fanaticism is, at this moment, inflicting on the land of his fathers; and which can scarcely be contemplated, without sorrow and dismay, by the whole Protestant world.

Now, this is as it should be: but this is not the whole. Mr. Colton was bred among the Sectarians,—(we protest against the supposition of our using this term in any invidious or ungracious acceptance),—he was reared and nurtured at the feet of the Gamaliels,—first of the Congregational, and next of the Presbyterian Schools. In fact, he came over to this country a sturdy Presbyterian; he now is a member, and a minister, of the Episcopal Church of America, and addresses to his countrymen his "Reasons for Episcopacy."

It was quite impossible that a testimony like this, should fail to arrest the earnest attention of his countrymen. We are accordingly informed, from unquestionable authority, that his book, though it has raised up many calumniators, has not called forth a single antagonist to answer it; that it has already passed through three copious editions; and that it is producing no inconsiderable effect upon the public mind in America. We should, therefore, be deeply grieved, if his candid and manly exposition of this revolution in his own sentiments, should be received with indifference and apathy by the members of the Anglican Church; for this would seem to prove that the mother

* See Brit. Crit. for January, 1833, p. 108—135.

had cast away her child from all place in her affection; and that, like the unreasoning fowls of the air, she was content to leave her brood "to prey at will," so soon as their strength of pinion should enable them to brave "the stormy wind and tempest," by their own unfilial and independent might. Evil and dark indeed would be the day, which should witness this calamitous disruption of the sympathies which ought ever to unite, in holy and inseparable bonds, the Apostolic Church of England, and her noble progeny of the Western World.

We further are not entirely without hope, that the statements of Mr. Colton may win a patient, and even an instructive hearing, from the multiform Separatism of the parent country, and beguile its followers of certain prepossessions, which they have inherited from their forefathers; and, by virtue of which, they may have been brought to identify the regimen of Prelates with the domination of Antichrist. There is one thing, at least, which may help to secure him a fair and impartial audience with all the classes and denominations which have cast away from them the yoke and fetters of the Hierarchy,—Mr. Colton is no advocate for the union between Church and State. On the contrary, albeit he now is a staunch and stedfast Episcopalian; he professes to regard any such connexion as fatal to the free agency and purity of the Church. He evidently considers the State as a sort of *boa constrictor*, the folds of which are so "voluminous" and vast," that they must strangle, in their deadly embrace, the vital energies of all spiritual authority and power. Like every other man in his proper senses, indeed, he perceives the case to be one which must, on no account whatever, be dealt with purely upon its abstract merits or demerits. He distinctly allows that, in the old country, the national religion and the national government have, from the beginning, been so closely interwoven with each other, that any sudden and violent attempt to rend them asunder would be neither more nor less than a mad assault upon the whole structure of the constitution. Reform he pronounces to be absolutely needful. But he adds, "that reform, in this, as "in other bad conditions of British society, to be *safe*, must be "slow; and that it would be impossible to sever Church and "State, at a single blow, without great hazard to public interests—without dissolving society itself." But, although Mr. Colton professes but a sort of "half-faced fellowship" with those impetuous regenerators who look with utter disdain upon all "bit-by-bit reform," he yet has thus much, in common with all the reformers, that he considers the existing relations between our civil and ecclesiastical powers, as altogether vicious and unnatural; as an evil to be endured, rather than as an advantage to

be coveted ; in short, as a mischief, the safe and gradual extermination of which would form a signal triumph of human integrity and wisdom. The gentlemen of the movement, therefore, will perhaps forgive his conversion to Episcopacy, when they find that he claims, in behalf of Episcopacy, no aid or patronage whatever from the secular arm. And, accordingly, they may be tempted to listen, without a frenzy of impatience, to his exposition of those calamities, which the unbridled spirit of fanaticism is, at this moment, letting loose upon the paradise of religious freedom.

The process by which Mr. Colton was conducted to his present scheme of thought, relative to ecclesiastical matters, is singularly interesting and instructive. In the year 1831, circumstances brought him to this country. His excursion, it seems, was considered as an affair of somewhat evil augury, by one of his ministerial brethren ; who intimated to him, very plainly, that to visit England and the continent, was usually regarded as prejudicial to the piety and Christian character of American ministers. " Indeed," added the man of dark omens, " the adventure " sometimes spoils them ! " In spite of this vaticination, however, Mr. Colton persisted in quitting the United States, for a residence of four years on the dangerous soil of Great Britain. In 1835 he returned, in a condition which seemed to verify the awful predictions of his friend and brother : for, according to his own confession, either going abroad had spoiled *him*, or else his country had, somehow or other, been spoiled during his absence ! Not, indeed, that he found his country in a state of irretrievable ruin, either as to her political or religious interests ; but that he had to witness the infliction of very grievous damage in certain quarters, where every thing had been left by him comparatively sound and flourishing. " I mean," he says, " that the Presbyterian and " Congregational denomination of Christians, to which I had " ever been attached, and in which I felt the deepest interest, " seemed to me, to a very great extent, lying under the blight " and desolation of the new and extravagant measures by which " religious excitements had been attempted and managed, on the " one hand ; and of endless and bitter theological controversy, on " the other. I will not say that I was shocked, because it came " upon me gradually. I was partly prepared for it, by what I " had heard, yet I had not conceived the extent of the evil. . . . " Almost the entire mass of the body of Christians to which I " belonged, was pervaded by one or the other of two great " evils, and their cognate ramifications,—(to me, evils, from which " my taste, my habits, and my feelings revolted),—extravagance " and controversy. It seemed as if I was, indeed, *spoiled*, for

“enjoyment or usefulness, in that connexion. For the first time in my life, driven by the considerations of these great and afflicting results staring me in the face, I began to question the expediency and adequacy of that system of church organization, which had not kept out these evils, and, apparently, could neither remedy nor abate them.” From all this, it is quite clear that Mr. Colton was entirely *spoiled* for a Congregationalist or a Presbyterian. To use his own language, he had been, for four years, standing at a “distant point of observation.” He was thus enabled to form a juster estimate of relative dimensions; his mind was emancipated from the tyranny which is usually exercised, over the eye and the judgment, by mere juxta-position. So that, when he found himself once more immersed into the system, from which, for a time, he had escaped, he was, of necessity, much more forcibly struck by its monstrous disorders and perturbations, than he could possibly have been, if he had continued, all the while, to live in the midst of its thickening confusion. The result we have now before us; namely, a distinct, and (so far as we can judge), an impartial exhibition of the “confounding odds,” by which the elements of his original connexions are perpetually “tumbled all together;” and, moreover, a luminous display of those indestructible principles of order, and consequently of power, which, at length, have won him over to the episcopal government and discipline.

We earnestly hope that Mr. Colton's work may have an ample circulation in this country. In the mean time, we are unable to resist the temptation to open to our readers some portion of the astounding apocalypse, which his volume has unfolded to ourselves. We begin with the Presbyterian connexion, which, according to Mr. Colton's representation, is afflicted with a sort of *legionary* possession, apparently beyond all the powers of exorcism. Foremost, among its tormentors, is the spirit of litigation. Mr. Colton has personally witnessed the practical operation of the system, in its judicial department, from the lowest to the highest court; comprehending the powers, and the practice, of Church Session, Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly. For two years he was himself a member of the General Assembly, and was intimately connected with the revision of the Statutes of the Presbyterian Church. He has sat as Moderator of different courts, employed in public investigations and trials, under these laws. And the result of his experience (which he confirms by an appeal to the experience of every other Presbyterian clergyman), is, that the whole business of these courts is singularly unedifying, uncomfortable, and vexatious. He tells us that he once sat as Moderator, for two or three weeks, in a case of dis-

cipline, which went up to the General Assembly a third time, on account of some trifling legal informality in the proceeding, burdening the records of every court, and occupying much precious time; but which was, after all, so plain, that certain facetious persons of the town sent a message to him (the Moderator), begging that he would not turn Mr. —— out of the Church into the world, for that the world were afraid to have him in it! Any case of discipline, he adds, originating perhaps in a private quarrel, and capable of being decided by the voice of a single pastor, with an hour's consideration, may be sufficient to molest and harass the whole Presbyterian Church of the United States, for a succession of years; and all, because there is so much *law*. And yet, for this evil, there seems to be no imaginable remedy. (p. 29.) From which it would appear, that even the absence of a State establishment affords no security against the growth of thorns and brambles within the sacred enclosure of religion. If the statement of Mr. Colton is to be credited, the Presbyterian judicatory bristles all over with technicality and chicanery, still more fiercely and formidably, than the venerable institution of our own Doctors' Commons! In fact, the practice of law, in the Presbyterian Church, has become a science and a profession. Reports of Cases and Precedents began to be published, long ago, by order of the General Assembly; and these have now accumulated into a large volume, continually swelling in its dimensions, with every new edition, under the title of the *Assembly's Digest*. (p. 61, note.)

The first question which naturally suggests itself, on the contemplation of these evils, is, to what cause are they to be ascribed? And here, Mr. Colton appears to find the way "plain before his face." For he tells us, confidently, that "*the equality claimed for all its ministers* is the immediate occasion of all the dissensions" which are tearing the Presbyterian body to pieces. They refuse, he says, to invest proper persons with supervisory and executive powers. Every person claims to have an equal part in the legislative, judicial, and executive functions; and the consequence is, that, every time they meet together for these purposes, they meet for dissension. "It is not in man," he continues, "to govern himself in this way. It never was, and it never can be. . . . And yet this is the way of the Presbyterian Church. Every meeting of its constituted authorities is a parliament; every parliament is a judiciary; and every judiciary is an executive. And the consequence is, that each, and all, become an arena of perpetual strife." (pp. 61, 62.)

Another awfully prolific source of confusion and *unrest*, is the perpetual conflict between the spirit of intolerance, on the one

hand, and the spirit of licentious independence, on the other. The spirit of independence provides each several community with a separate creed. The spirit of intolerance fiercely and inflexibly exacts an implicit submission to the creed, which happens to have got a local possession, as the only standard of truth. And hence it is that "Churches are divided; Presbyteries are divided; Synods are divided; the General Assembly is divided; and the whole denomination (composed of more than 2000 ministers, nearly 3000 churches, more than 250,000 communicants, having allied to them a population falling, probably, not much short of 2,000,000), is in violent agitation and conflict with itself,—party against party. . . . The fermentations of the whole mass work their way to the floor of the General Assembly; and there develop, annually, the true character of the ingredients, in their relative combination, and reciprocal action. The controversies of that body," Mr. Colton affirms, "are too well known to require a history, and too painful to be useful in a detailed portraiture. And yet, from the important position of that body in society, and from existing facilities of obtaining the debates of public assemblies, they are, notwithstanding, spread out before the wide community, to the great scandal and detriment of religion. If all their debates could be held with closed doors, till peace should be restored—(if that can ever be hoped for!)—it would seem most desirable."

It may, possibly, be thought strange, that these elements of disorder should be in such pernicious activity throughout a religious community, like the Presbyterian Church, the *principle* of which is, that all its separate congregations shall subscribe the creed of the Directory. But Mr. Colton, nevertheless, assures us that, whatever may be the *principle*, the *practice* is at mortal variance with it. He tells us, that a diversity of confessions is, by no means, a peculiarity of the Congregational or Independent Churches. On the contrary, he estimates the variety of creeds, within the Presbyterian pale, to be not less than *some hundreds*; each of them shaped, with minute exactness, according to the theological model of the head that formed it; as, for instance, a *Hopkinsian*; a *New Light*; a moderate Calvinist, or a high Calvinist; an *Old* or a *New School* man; with all the grades between these extremes, from the time of Jonathan Edwards to the present moment. "One can hardly go," says Mr. Colton, "from one town to another, although within the same denomination, without finding a different creed. . . . I have, myself, organized from ten to fifteen churches, giving them creeds drawn up by my own hand, which varied from each other, according as, by thinking more upon the subject, I supposed I could

"improve their forms. How different this," he very justly exclaims, "from the practice of a Church which has the same creed; and that creed in the hands of every man, every woman, and every child!" From the prevalence of this implacably polemical spirit, Mr. Colton anticipates a speedy and open disruption, but no termination of the stunning anarchy and discord. The rulers of opinion, he observes, "may *divide* the Presbyterian Church, as is soon likely to occur; but, on the same principles, division can never purchase peace. They may *subdivide*, but the inherent defects of constitution will still be there; and, in all probability, will still break out in the same forms."

A further objection to the whole Presbyterian system in America—an objection at least equally applicable to the Congregational system—is this, that it robs the pastoral office of its essential and reasonable influence. In the estimation of Mr. Colton, indeed, it does much more,—it robs the pastoral office of its legitimate and *primitive* influence. This latter consideration, however, he is content, *for the present*, to waive; not because he questions the strength of the argument from the principles and the practice of *primitive* antiquity; but simply, because his more immediate purpose is to discuss the whole matter, purely upon those open grounds, which lie without the boundaries of historical or theological controversy. According to his representation, then, if there be on earth a *servus servorum*, it is a Presbyterian, or a Congregational minister, in the United States. The condition of such persons, in this country, is well known to be often sufficiently degrading; but, in America, they are frequently compelled to sound the very *base note* of humiliation. Their servitude must be absolutely intolerable! The Presbyterian pastor has a session of ruling elders associated with him in the pastoral office, each of whom has equal voice with himself, except that he is, *ex officio*, Moderator. In the Congregational Churches, there are, associated with the minister, certain officers called deacons, and, in some instances, a standing committee, whose influence is often still more oppressive than that of the ruling elders of the Presbyterians, inasmuch as their powers are more imperfectly defined. These functionaries, for the most part, are men whose attainments are narrow, and whose self-confidence is proportionably vast. Woe be to the preacher who travels an inch beyond the circle of their vision in theology, or ventures upon a line of scriptural interpretation which may sound new or strange in their ears! The slightest digression from the common track, instantly brings his orthodoxy into suspicion. And, what is still more vexatious,—we had almost said, more inhuman,—if the overlaboured drudge should chance to preach a sermon which the

associates have heard before, or if he should seek to relieve himself, by an exchange of duty, more frequently than they approve, his sinking energies are, straightway, refreshed by a charge of laziness and neglect. Of late years, too, the *Inquisition* has become itinerant. The self-commissioned apostles have gone forth, from town to town, and from district to district, to search into the conduct and fidelity of clergymen whom they never saw; and have made their way into the closets of their spiritual *guides*, to advise them, and to admonish them, and to assist them by their prayers. And, having fulfilled their blessed office, they have proceeded, "staff and scrip," upon the circuit of their *visitation*. So that here, with a vengeance, is illustrated the sentence with which we began. If men will not have bishops, according to God's appointment, bishops they still must have, in some form or other. We have all read of them who *despised the statutes of the Lord*; and to whom the Lord, in his righteous anger, *gave statutes which were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*. And, we apprehend that the present history of Presbyterian and Congregational *Episcopacy* in the United States, might furnish a very pregnant commentary upon this text, to all who have ears to hear, or hearts to understand.

Occasionally, indeed, there does occur something like an insurrection of honorable and independent feeling against all this mean, ignorant, and vulgar tyranny. A somewhat amusing instance of this is related by Mr. Colton:—

"I have heard of one reception of these lay apostles, which may not be unworthy of record. One pair of them—for they went forth 'two and two,' and thus far were conformed to Scripture—both of them mechanics, and one a shoemaker, having abandoned their calling to engage in this enterprise, came upon a subject, who was not well disposed to recognise their commission. They began to talk with him: 'We have come to stir you up.' 'How is the shoe business in your city?' said the clergyman to the shoemaker, who was the speaker. For it was a city from which they came. The shoemaker looked vacant, and stared at the question, as if he thought it not very pertinent to his errand, and after a little pause, proceeded in the discharge of his office: 'We have come to give your church a shaking.' 'Is the market for shoes good?' said the clergyman. Abashed at this apparent obliquity, the shoemaker paused again; and again went on in like manner. To which the clergyman:—'Your business is at a stand, sir, I presume; I suppose you have nothing to do.' And so the dialogue went on: the shoemaker confining himself to his duty, and the clergyman talking only of shoes, in varied and constantly shifting colloquy, till the perverse and wicked pertinacity of the latter discouraged the former; and the shoemaker and his brother took up their hats, to 'shake off the dust of their feet,' and turn away to a more hopeful subject. The clergyman

bowed them very civilly out of doors, expressing his wish, as they departed, that the shoe business might soon revive. Of course, these lay apostles, in this instance, were horror-struck; and it cannot be supposed they were much inclined to leave their blessing behind them."—pp. 36, 37.

But there are still worse things behind. The *zeal* of the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations in America may, almost without rhetorical figure or exaggeration, be said to have assumed the aspect of a Moloch. It demands human victims; and this, not occasionally, but perpetually; not by ones and twos, but by multitudes. The lust for novelty is the high priest which presides over these appalling immolations; in plain language, sermons and meetings, without end, and in almost endless variety, are exacted of the *clergy*. The demand upon the resources of the preacher—intellectual, imaginative, and physical—are merciless and incessant. The spiritual appetite is jaded by the constantly accumulating multiplicity of *religious occasions*. The demand for fresh excitement increases with the frequency and intensity of its application. The labours of the ministers, instead of satisfying the unnatural and feverish thirst, only aggravate it nearly to madness; and the result is, that they are often well nigh torn to pieces by the spirits which their own incantations have called up. To an observer who is infected with the common frenzy, the whole process shows like a glorious and triumphant going forth of the Spirit of God. To a self-possessed and sober-minded spectator, it appears under the aspect described by Mr. Colton—"It is as if Satan had come into the world, in the form of an angel of light; seeming to be urging on a good work, but pushing it so hard, as to destroy the labourers by over-action." The havoc produced by this insatiable religious orgasm, is thus described by Mr. Colton:—

"The wasting energies—the enfeebled, ruined health—the frequent premature deaths—the failing of ministers in the Presbyterian and Congregational connexions from these causes, all over the country, almost as soon as they have begun to work—all which is too manifest not to be seen, which everybody feels that takes any interest in this subject,—are principally and with few exceptions owing to the unnecessary, exorbitant demands on their intellectual powers, their moral and physical energies. And the worst of it is, we not only have no indemnification for this amazing, immense sacrifice, by a real improvement of the state of religion, but the public mind on this subject is vitiated; an unnatural appetite for spurious excitements, all tending to fanaticism, and not a little of it the essence of fanaticism, is created and nourished. The interests of religion in the land are actually thrown backward. It is a fever, a disease which nothing but time, pains, and a change of system can cure. A great body of the most talented, best educated, most

zealous, most pious, and purest Christian ministers in the country—not to disparage any others—a body which, in all respects, will bear an advantageous comparison with any of their class in the world, is threatened to be enervated, to become sickly, to have their minds wasted and their lives sacrificed, out of season, and with real loss to the public, by the very means which prostrates them, even though we should leave out of the reckoning the premature end to which they are brought. This spectacle, at this moment before the eyes of the wide community, is enough to fill the mind of an enlightened Christian with dismay. I have myself been thrown ten years out of the stated use of the ministry by this very cause, and may therefore be entitled to feel and to speak on the subject. And when I see my brethren fallen and falling around me, like the slain in battle, the plains of our land literally covered with these unfortunate victims, I am constrained to express a most earnest desire, that some adequate remedy may be applied.

“As a people, we have been too fond of novelties; flushed with apparent, transient success, we have given reins to rash experiment; and the excesses and extravagances into which large portions of the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies have been pushed by ruthless hands, have thrown the air of sobriety over the modes of operation usually practised by one of the largest denominations of our fellow Christians, which twenty years ago we in our wisdom were accustomed to regard in the light of extravagance, not to say fanaticism. It is a singular fact, that the Methodists—whom I name only with respect—have in their uniform career been left far behind in all those things, which formerly were looked upon in them as great excess. Our only remedy now is to allow fanaticism to burn out its own fires by letting it alone; the fuel cannot always last; and to rely upon the good sense and sobriety of the community in a course of independent operations.”—pp. 40, 41.

Among the disastrous triumphs of this rabid infatuation, Mr. Colton seems inclined to reckon the prevalence of religious insanity. He does not, indeed, venture to say this in the language of confident accusation; but he has seen and heard enough to warrant the suspicion. One lunatic hospital he visited himself; and there he was mournfully struck with the predominance of religious mania. The observations of an intelligent friend have helped to strengthen him in his belief of the fact. The conclusion of the following paragraph exhibits a melancholy instance of the process by which a youthful mind may be thus, irretrievably, overthrown:—

“Religion is a dread and awful theme in itself. That is, as all must concede, there are revealed truths belonging to this category. To invest these truths with terrors that do not belong to them, by bringing them out in distorted shapes and unnatural forms; to surprise a tender and unfortified mind by one of awful import, without exhibiting the corresponding relief which Christianity has provided; to frighten, shock, and

paralyze the mind with alternations and scenes of horror, carefully concealing the ground of encouragement and hope, till reason is shaken and hurled from its throne, for the sake of gaining a convert, and in making a convert, to make a maniac—as doubtless sometimes occurs under this mode of preaching, for we have the proof of it—involves a fearful responsibility. I have just heard of an interesting girl thus driven to distraction, in the city of New York, at the tender age of fourteen, by being approached by the preacher after a sermon of this kind, with a secretary by his side, with a book and pen in his hand, to take down the names and answers of those who, by invitation, remained to be conversed with. Having taken her name, the preacher asked, ‘Are you for God, or the devil?’ Being overcome, her head depressed, and in tears, she made no reply. ‘Put her down, then, in the devil’s book!’ said the preacher to his secretary. From that time the poor girl became insane; and in her simplicity and innocence has been accustomed to tell the story of her misfortune!”—p. 44.

To crown all these mischiefs, there is imminent danger lest religion, *pure and undefiled*, should be fatally dishonored by the distortions and deformities inflicted on her, by this foul, strange, and most unnatural violence. “The superstitious and enormous ties of the Roman Catholic Church,” says Mr. Colton, “gave birth to what is commonly called the French infidelity. The fanaticism of our own country, if it should extend itself widely, and prevail long, would not, probably, create an infidelity so fierce, because it is not imposed by authority. But it would bring religion into general contempt.”—p. 45.

In the last place, Mr. Colton enters a distinct and well-reasoned protest against the process by which members of the sectarian Churches are admitted into full communion. The public profession, by the candidate, of a hope that he has been *born again*,—the examination into his orthodoxy before a board of *laymen*,—his admission to the state of a probationer before the whole congregation of the people,—his subsequent entrance upon a solemn covenant, first with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and secondly with the Church which he is about to join; all these strange devices and inventions are more or less familiar to every one, who is conversant with the practice of Dissenting communities in this country. But all these things appear, from Mr. Colton’s statements, to flourish, in still more rampant predominance, throughout the United States; and, without exception, they are all deprecated and stigmatized by him as utterly vicious in principle, and unspeakably mischievous in operation. He condemns the whole of them, as forming a system which makes the most preposterous demands upon the nerves, the self-possession, and the intellectual resources of the candidates, and which offers insufferable violence to that sensitive and retiring delicacy which often distin-

guishes those very spirits that are most deeply touched by the power of religion. But, above all, he complains of the scheme as a fatal departure from the whole spirit of the Primitive and Apostolic Church. "I am forced to believe," he says, "that Christ, and the members of His body, the Church Universal, are connected with Him, and constituted in Him, *only through his appointed ministry*; whereas this mode is a constitution, or organization, superadded by man Every Christian, who has been baptized, and publicly recognized as such, by an authorized ministry, is a member in full; and his membership is constituted, solely and alone, *through the ministry*, and not by association with other members." And he concludes, upon the whole matter, that, "in all points of view, the theory of this (the Sectarian) system is the most unfortunate in its application. The ministry is robbed of its primitive powers. Virtually, there is no ministry; their feet and hands are bound in chains; they are entirely subject to the popular will."—p. 54.

It may not be uninteresting or unprofitable, to an English Churchman, to contemplate the views entertained by an American proselyte to Episcopacy, relative to the process by which this unhappy "defeat" has been wrought upon the life of the original and apostolic system:—

"The history of this incredible change—incredible but for the fact, that stares the world in the face—is perfectly manifest. First, the reformation from Popery, in some of the forms into which it branched, went further, as all such violent changes are apt to do, than simply to reject what was bad—which was the ground of controversy—and demolished much that was good. Because the Pope, and the factitious hierarchy, of which he was the head, had assumed too much of power, the reformation did not indeed dissolve the Christian ministry, but only rescued by scarcely saving it; and lodged it in some fragments of the Reformed Church. With some, who are nice and conscientious, not only as to the most probable primitive organization of the Christian ministry, but also as to its historical and uninterrupted descent, Presbyterian ordination is doubtful, at best; and as to myself, on a re-examination, it has proved unsatisfactory. *I am inclined to the belief, that nothing but the strong bias of education, and winking at defects of argument in the pride and strength of a long-cherished opinion, can make it satisfactory.* As to Congregationalism, I say it with the greatest respect for all of that denomination, with whom I have been associated, believing them to be honest as I myself was—though, as it happened, I was ordained a Presbyterian*—I have come at last to the conviction, that

* "If it be admitted, that Presbyterian ordination is valid, and Congregational not, the former in the United States is, to a considerable extent, vitiated by the fact, that Presbyteries have been erected and composed of Congregational ministers, if not exclusively, yet principally; so that it may have happened, and in all probability has happened, that ministers imposing hands, as Presbyterians, for Presbyterian ordination,

the Nonconformists and Independents of England broke down and dissolved the Christian ministry, so far as themselves were concerned ; and consequently doomed all their descendants in the United States to the same predicament. In the contest against prelatical ascendancy, and other vices of the English Church, both as an establishment and as an overstrained Episcopacy—which were grievous enough, and which are still grievous—the Nonconformists and Independents, in dissolving their connexion and seeking redress, and in the passion of the time, lost their respect for a ministry that was so unfriendly and oppressive to them, went off into an extreme, and declared against and renounced all the rights and claims of Episcopacy—resolving themselves into the original elements of society, so far as Ecclesiastical organization is concerned. Of course, if it be admitted that there must be an uninterrupted descent of the Christian ministry, it was lost as to that form, in which history attests it had previously existed. It is known that high Presbyterians do not respect the Independent, or Congregational ministry, as valid. In England, for the most part, they do not themselves respect it on account of *derivation*, but only as being *recognised* by the people. To this day, in that country, the public notices of the setting apart of Congregational ministers to their respective charges, are intentionally and uniformly expressed simply as a *recognition*—thereby formally repudiating and disclaiming the idea and rite of ordination, or consecration. In this there is no mistake, as all their public notices of the kind will show. And it is perfectly evident, that the term *recognition* is adopted as declarative of a *principle*, in opposition to consecration. This is consistent, and proves a consciousness, and is itself an open and public confession, that a descent of the ministry is not claimed, and that all pretension to consecration is in principle disclaimed.

“To make thorough work in this change, and to maintain consistency, the pastor is required to be a member of his own Church, or Association, on a footing of equality with all other members ; and his superiority, as pastor, is merely nominal and influential. In principle the association can at any time degrade him, and put another member of their body—if they deem him better qualified, or if he is more agreeable to them—over his head and in his place. From such a decision there is no appeal, as all these congregations are in principle and professedly Independents—that is, independent of each other's control. Such a change, according to custom, would indeed require another *recognition* by an assembly of pastors for public purposes. But I believe it would be true to say, that this recognition, as it is always called, is a mere matter of form, to render the choice and appointment more imposing and influential—and that it is not required by any other consideration. Of course, in principle, the ministry is nothing. It originates in the popular will ; it is set up and put down by the popular will ; and is merely influential, as the accidents of society may favour it.”—pp. 54—56.

were every one of them ordained as Congregationalists. Though I cannot affirm, yet I suspect that such was the case in my own ordination by the Presbytery of Niagara in 1817.”

Among the favourite expedients, for keeping the religious circulation of Christian communities in a brisk and healthy condition, may be reckoned the practice of "mutual watch and care,"—the institution of a sort of spiritual *frank-pledge*,—which is deemed a most important element in the Presbyterian and Congregational constitution. By this notable contrivance, every individual of society is, in effect, converted into a spy, and an inquisitor, on the conduct of his neighbour. It is scarcely possible to imagine a device better fitted than this to freeze the current of all social intercourse, or to poison the very sources of all domestic enjoyment. It endows the very walls which we inhabit with eyes and ears, and puts us in fear of "airy tongues," which syllable men's names," in accents denoting a fearful omnipresence of the spirit of all uncharitableness. One would almost as willingly live under the old *regime* of Venice, as in a community where it should be impossible to get beyond the hearing, and the sight, of the sleepless demon of censure and accusation. It may be true, that Christian men are bound, by the laws of Christian brotherhood, to *sharpen the countenance* of each other; so that, at all times, and in all directions, a keen edge may be presented against the assaults of iniquity and ungodliness. But it is *not* true that Christian souls are to grind each other, till they are worn down into powerless attenuation,—a result which must, in time, inevitably follow, in a state of society which constitutes every man an inspector of his fellow, and keeps up a perpetual collision of exhortation and reproof. Sparks of fire, indeed, may be incessantly forced out by this sort of violent and unnatural encounter. But the process, if long continued, must end in the destruction of nearly all that is truly valuable and useful in the conflicting materials. This, we apprehend, is the dictate of common sense, and of a competent knowledge of human nature. But, what then? The Sectarious declare that they have the authority of Scripture on their side. On the ground of Scripture, accordingly, Mr. Colton is prepared to meet them. He takes their texts, and fairly shakes them all to pieces. He shows that, even in the Apostolic times, when the Christian community was a small, suspected, and persecuted flock—when every individual had a direct and vital interest in the virtue and faithfulness of his neighbour—that, even then, the apostles felt themselves under the frequent necessity of rebuking and repressing the busy, meddling, inquisitive, censorious spirit, which was constantly at work against the peace and quiet of the brotherhood. What, then, can be said of this sort of agency, at the present day? "Professing Christians," says Mr. Colton, "will not consent to such interference; and there is no good

"reason why they should. It is the most unprofitable and "obnoxious business, which any persons can set themselves "about." In the existing state of things, the frontier line between the Church, and what is called the world, is not, and cannot possibly be, so broadly and visibly marked, as it was previously to the demolition of idolatry and paganism. And this may be a cogent and powerful motive for vigilance, to every individual Christian; whose main business it is, or ought to be, to guard against the danger of *backsliding* from the Church into the world. But, still, this is a state of things which invests the office of mutual watch and guardianship with a difficulty and a delicacy which ought to deter all persons, possessed by the genuine spirit of love and soberness, from plunging headlong into its responsibilities. "My next door neighbour in a city," says Mr. Colton, "might be a member of the same Church with myself; "and yet it is possible that I should be ignorant whether he be "a Christian, or a Jew, or a Mahometan, because I do not "know him at all. How preposterous, then, is it, that I should "be *his* guardian, and he *mine*, (even if it were proper,) simply "because we happen to be members of the same Church? The "*spirit* of the primitive Church, in all that was good, is what we "want. The *circumstances* we cannot have."—pp. 75, 76.

From the foregoing outline of Mr. Colton's exposition, it would appear as if some friendly guide had stepped in to dissipate the mists and vapours which had, for a long time, been overclouding his mortal sight; and had disclosed to him, in formidable vision, the powers which have been, and are, at work, for the subversion of the ancient apostolic structure of the Church—

Apparent diræ facies, inimicaque Trojæ
Numina !

And the spectacle, thus awfully unfolded, seems to have wrought an entire revolution in his mind, and to have rallied all his energies, and all his affections, round the Episcopal fabric of his native land. The Episcopacy of Rome, his countrymen perpetually insist, is powerful and dangerous; and this, of course, Mr. Colton willingly concedes. Neither does he at all deny that the Episcopacy of England is an overstrained and exaggerated form of the primitive institution; at once aggrandized and corrupted by its inauspicious connection with the State. With the truth, or the falsehood of this accusation, we have, at present, no concern. It, nevertheless, is most important to keep in mind, that the charge *is*, distinctly and repeatedly, advanced by him—(though much more in sorrow than in anger)—lest it should be imagined that we are producing the testimony of a witness committed, without reserve, to the cause of our own National Establish-

ment. But—leaving Rome and England to maintain their own respective causes, as they best may—he is principally anxious to protest against the reasoning from Papal and Anglican Episcopacy, to American Episcopacy, as at present constituted. The two former may be as powerful, and as dangerous, as their worst enemies can possibly surmise. But how, he asks, does it follow from this, that the latter is, also, powerful and dangerous? In order to show the absurdity of any such inference, he brings the matter, at once, to the test of a comparison. The first instance produced by him, is that of the Methodistical community, which, he tells us, if estimated by the number of its communicants, in different countries, is perhaps the largest (certainly among the largest), of all the Protestant denominations in the world. By the constitution of the American Episcopal Church, the laity are not only admitted to an equal footing, in debate and counsel on all questions of legislation and government, but they have a check on the clergy; and, through the clergy, on the bishops. For, the house of bishops can enact nothing independently of the house of clerical and lay deputies; and the latter house can vote nothing without the concurrence of the laity. Nay, more, in general convention, the deputation from any one diocese can call the entire ranks of the laity to a separate vote; a majority of whom can pronounce a *veto* on any measure. But, how is it in the Methodist connexion? The laity, there, undoubtedly, can exercise a very powerful check in all pecuniary matters. The privilege of licensing the clergy rests, also, for the most part, with a board of laymen. But the clergy, once chosen, form the sole depository of ecclesiastical power. The laity have neither voice nor representation in the government of the community. It “is clear, therefore,” says Mr. Colton, “that the American Episcopal Church, in its constitutional organization, is not to be compared with the Methodist, if we confine our view to the concentration of power in the clergy.”—p. 83.

But, to proceed to other denominations and societies. The history and the condition of these, one and all, furnish a perpetual commentary on the maxim, that “God sends us bishops, whether we will have them or not.” However captivating it may be, in speculation, *parity* is a thing which, in practice, never can exist; or which, at least, never can endure for a twelvemonth together, so long as intellect, and strength of character, are so unequally distributed among the children of men. Favorable circumstances, or superior talents, or a happy combination of both, will tend, inevitably, to the elevation of this individual, or of that, into a position of commanding sway. And, if the society in which this eminence is attained by him be a religious

society, from that moment the man is, to all intents and purposes, a bishop. He is, frequently, a *Pontifex Maximus* in his own community. He has a "voice potential," which is next to irresistible. A self-willed, unconstitutional, irresponsible, and ever-varying *Episcopacy*, will always be found to rise up, sooner or later, out of the dead level of ministerial equality. And we all know that authority, when it is acquired and maintained merely by personal influence, will often

"Play such fantastic tricks, before high heaven,
As makes the angels weep."

And thus, accordingly, we find it is, with the Presbyterian and Congregational connexions. "God sends them bishops:" bishops, whose power they may deny, but can never effectually withstand; and whose authority is the more dangerous and formidable, as it is exercised without reference to rule or precedent—canon or constitution;—in short, without reference to any thing, but that which governs the movements of most other successful adventurers in the strife for mastery—their own imperious caprices. The result, Mr. Colton assures us, is confusion, and disaster, and the perpetual and imminent danger of false doctrine, heresy, and schism. In support of this representation, he refers to the present notorious condition of these two great denominations. Indeed, the multitude of independent and self-constituted *bishops*, combined with the general spirit of rigorous intolerance, has made the land literally to swarm with religious sects. "No part of Christendom," he says, "has been so prolific in this product, as our country. It might be almost said to form our religious staple . . . And, just at this moment, another grand explosion seems ready to burst upon us; and the Presbyterian Church of the United States is, in all probability, to be rent "in twain."—p. 204.

Mr. Colton next proceeds to the consideration of certain religious societies, which are mainly indebted, for their efficacy, to their essentially *Episcopal* organization. He contends that the *Episcopal* principle is, in fact, the *vital* principle, of all the voluntary religious and benevolent associations in America, national and subordinate: and he further maintains that, in the most powerful and important of these associations, this same principle is brought out into far more intense and constant action, than it is in the Episcopal Church itself. And, first, he passes in review before us the American Home Missionary Society, which he terms an *Episcopal* institution, upon a stupendous scale, and of vast energy—wanting, of *Episcopacy*, nothing but the form and name. Its *diocese* is the United States of America; and, at this moment, it avowedly contemplates no less than the

extension of its operations, until its influence shall be felt, not only over the whole American continent, but throughout the civilized world. Of this great Association, the *Secretary* is, in fact, the arch-prelate. It may be doubted whether the General of the order of Jesus is more absolute than this august and well-nigh omnipotent functionary. He has, under his supervision and control, upwards of 700 clergy, and 1050 congregations: while all the 17 bishops of the Episcopal Church together, for the same ground, have only 772 clergy, with between 800 and 900 congregations—averaging about 47 clergy for each bishop. “All this,” says Mr. Colton, “leaves the aspirations of true America can Episcopacy out of sight! They are not to be named in ‘such company.’” And all this, too, illustrates, in a most astounding manner, the very curious fact, that, in a land which revolts against *Episcopacy*, as something formidably “powerful” and dangerous,” the principle of *Episcopacy* is vigorously and incessantly at work. The Providence of God, acting through the ordinary constitution of human nature, has furnished this mighty Association with a bishop, though under the very unassuming title of a *Secretary*! But, call the Secretary a bishop, and the charm would instantly be broken. The abomination of the Romish (and, perhaps, of the Anglican) hierarchy, would, incontinently, rise up in spectral horror, before the eyes of president, committee, sub-committee, and operative missionary. And, the chances are, that the whole of this comprehensive and most *Catholic* Association would then speedily fall to pieces. Such is the enchantment, and such the disenchantment, which frequently attend upon a name! Such is the tendency of human nature to provide itself with the convenient lubrication of *words*, whenever it is solicitous to slip away from the iron precision of *things*!

Then there is the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. And then, again, there is the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions; an institution which, in the extent of its plan, resembles the *Propaganda* of Rome. Each of these Associations, Mr. Colton tells us, has achieved wonders; more especially the latter. And how have the wonders been achieved? even by virtue of systematic exertion, and energetic resolution. And what has been the secret of all this energy, and all this determination? Let Mr. Colton answer—“The energy has always depended, and still depends, ‘on their *Episcopal* power of control. They act,” he says, “on ‘the *Episcopal* principle to the very letter, under the most rigid ‘system. The Episcopacy of the United States, as compared ‘with this, in its operation on the clergy, is mildness—gentleness. I do not mean to assert that the board is oppressive, or

"unreasonable. The system is indispensable to the work. I only mean to develop the *fact*; and to set it in a light of comparison, so far as it is pertinent to my object. It is a principle of the missionary work, that he who devotes himself to it, *has no will of his own*. And it is a high and noble character; its reward is in heaven." The certainty, and the grandeur of its reward, we have no disposition to call in question. But this is a matter which must rest entirely with Him, who seeth in secret, and shall recompense openly. With regard to the fact itself, however, considered as a mere earthly phenomenon, it does strike us as something singularly curious and instructive. We have here the *implicit* obedience of a *Jesuit*, exemplified in the servants of a *Protestant Association*, every member of which would rise up, in fierce insurrection, against the dangerous and arbitrary domination of an Episcopal bench!

"But now," says Mr. Colton, "consider the unhappy relations of the Home Missionary Society, and the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church; both *Episcopal* institutions in principle, and that of the highest order. Throughout the wide territories of the Presbyterian Church, these societies cover the whole, and the same ground; are of the same nature, and have the same object. They come into collision everywhere, dividing Churches, Presbyteries, Synods, and the General Assembly. All these unhappy results would be entirely avoided, under the proper forms of Episcopacy. And so, generally, we may say of the known collisions of the Presbyterian Church, in other forms, and on other topics—practical, doctrinal, and disciplinary."

We have, next, to consider the *American*, and the two great *Presbyterian*, education societies; three institutions of momentous influence, and vast resources. They have, under their care, as beneficiaries, no less than 2230 young men, in the various stages of their academical and theological education; beginning from the time when they are called from the plough and the workshop, and ending with their commission to preach the Gospel, and to administer its ordinances. And the annual revenue at their disposal, for these purposes, amounts to upwards of 170,000 dollars. "And thus," says Mr. Colton, "this immense system of educating and forming the minds of such a large body of men, and of sending them forth to educate and form the minds of the people scattered over the face of the country, is concentrated and lodged in the hands of a few individuals." In other words, the system is, virtually and essentially, *Episcopal*. And well may Mr. Colton add, that "it is a power more radical, and

“ more influential over the destinies of the country, than is lodged
“ in the hands of any other equal number of men.”—p. 95.

So much for the religious societies : and the case seems to be much the same with all other combinations for benevolent and moral purposes. As for the Temperance Society, the spirit of its administration appears to be, positively, *ultra-pontifical*. Its anathema is tremendous. There is constantly issuing from its mouth a two-edged sword, which hews down all opposition : for it despatches by the mail, in all directions, copies of its rules and pledges ; it publishes the names of those who give in their adhesion ; and the *preterition* of the names of those who decline, virtually amounts to a fearful sentence of *reprobation* ; especially if the recusant happens to be a minister of conspicuous note. Mr. Colton mentions the instance of a clergyman, occupying a most important post in the community, who was a decided friend to the general designs of the society, but had been induced to withhold his name, by his disapprobation of the absurd rigour of certain of the pledges which it exacted from its members. At length, however, the *Bull* arrived from the *Vatican* at Albany. Resistance was hopeless : and the man was compelled, by the terrors of *publication*, to write himself among the fanatics of self-denial. “ His station was such, that he could not *get along* “ comfortably without complying with this *order*. And here,” he added, “ was tyranny with a vengeance !”—(p. 96.) But this seems to be the peculiar type of American *liberty*, throughout the whole frame of society. The abhorrence of *official* power is universal and intense. But the domination of influence is omnipotent and omnipresent ; and this, whether the influence be concentrated in the person of an individual, or whether it rushes on with the *momentum* which belongs to a tyrant majority. In either case, a dreadful interdict impends over the head of the gainsayer : and when once the sentence of excommunication has gone forth, the offender is instantly invested with the *caput lupinum*. He undergoes a *translation* ten thousand times more fearful than that of Bully Bottom. And it is well if the unhappy monster is not turned over to the tender mercies of that tremendous functionary, whose name is *Lynch* ; and who, we suspect, may justly boast of an intimate consanguinity with one *Captain Rock*. In short, what are called *constitutional* monarchs and prelates, are plants which may be fit enough for laborious cultivation, in effete and worn-out lands. But, in the fresh and vigorous soil of America, Royalty and Episcopacy spring up, everywhere, in wild and spontaneous luxuriance. The country is overrun with them, throughout the length and breadth of it ; the whole people are, as it were, a generation of kings and priests.

What, therefore, have they to do with "the rotten privilege and custom" of antiquity? Why should laws and canons be called in, to circumscribe their birthright? Why should they suffer a formal and legalized monopoly of power to insult the glorious and *sovereign* liberty, wherewith they have been made free? Besides, as for Episcopacy,—considered as a recognized form of Ecclesiastical government,—has it not the mark of *the beast* upon its forehead? Is it not instinct with the very spirit of monopolizing domination? Has it not wrought all manner of abomination at home? And is it not, at this hour, doing the same thing in Great Britain, though on a smaller scale, and with mutilated energies? And if, for fear of being drunken with the ancient cup of sorcery, men thus prefer the wild grapes to the product of the vineyard, why should they not be indulged in their taste; although, thereby, their own teeth, and the teeth of their children, should be set on edge, from one generation to another?

It will be vain, we fear, for Mr. Colton to exclaim, in reply to all this, "God has ordained that the interests of human society shall have individuals to preside over them. There must be a king, or a *president*, over the nation. There must be governors over provinces, and smaller states. There must be mayors of cities; heads of colleges; masters in schools; fathers of families. All departments of societies require a head. And shall the Church of God alone be without them? And shall the commonwealth of pastors have no head?" It will be vain for him to protest that its miserable *acephalism* is among the grandest defects of the Congregational, or Presbyterian scheme; that it is a violation of the dictates of universal experience; that it is a great chasm in the natural constitution of human society; that it is as impossible to accomplish the great objects of religion, without a social organization, as it is to attain the objects of civil government without it; that religion without government runs into fanaticism—into chaos—in the same manner as the ordinary state of society would be dissolved into anarchy without civil order. All this is obsolete and mouldy wisdom! It may do very well in the *old countries*! But it will find no favour in a land, whose glory it is, that its people govern themselves; and we may, perhaps, be forgiven for adding, whose delusion it is, that the people often fancy that they are governing themselves, when, in fact, they are only led by men who have craft enough to dupe them, or driven by men who have force of character enough to seize the reins.

Among us, however,—whose ears are not yet *quite* so much accustomed to the wild and dithyrambic harmonies which are stirring the inmost heart of the western world,—the soberer mea-

tures of our brother Episcopalian may yet be listened to without impatience, if not with universal applause. We, accordingly, shall lay before our readers the contrast, exhibited by Mr. Colton, between the spirit of the Episcopal and the Presbyterian communities, in his own country. And this we shall not be deterred from doing by the expression of certain of his opinions, which imply—(whether justly, or unjustly, we cannot stop to discuss)—a tolerably intelligible rebuke to our own Established Church, for admitting political interest and passion to too close an intercourse with her holier principles:—

“On the whole : I trust I need not go farther to show, that there are far more formidable powers possessed and wielded by numerous public religious and other associations in our country, than can fairly be attributed to the Episcopacy of the Episcopal Church, or to its ecclesiastical organization ; nay, that by inspection and scrutiny, the power of the latter, in all but a needful and wholesome influence, vanishes, while that of the others is as vigorous as needs be ; and in some of them more so. Besides, the influence of the American Episcopal Church is uniform, well-defined, tangible, fixed by constitutional laws, and remains the same from the date of its existence ; the public can see what it has been, what it is, and may satisfactorily know what it will continue to be ; while that of many of these comparatively irresponsible institutions, is developing new and latent energies from year to year, constantly varying in their forms, and surprising the public with some hitherto undiscovered features.

“It is moreover to be said in praise of the Episcopal Church, that she has most scrupulously abstained from meddling with all political questions ; that she has never approached them—a most important and material fact in that regard, which has been under consideration in this chapter ; at the same time, that the most exciting political question, now convulsing the nation, has been carried into the Presbyterian connexion to a wide extent, been discussed warmly in Churches, in Presbyteries, and Synods, and in many of them passed into the form of resolutions, so as to draw down the notice of our national legislature, and caused it to be said on the floor of the Senate—‘*that if the Presbyterian Church should insist on agitating this question, it would divide the Union.*’ This is the substance and point of the declaration, though not perhaps the exact words. I quote from memory.

“This uniform and conscientious abstinence from politics is a most important feature, and a practically salutary element in the American Episcopal Church. It is meddling with politics that has for centuries been most injurious to Christian churches—injurious and destructive to their appropriate character and spiritual influence—and greatly injurious to their reputation ; and, I may add, to the reputation and influence of Christianity in the world. It is not without reason, that political men and governments are jealous of large Christian organizations—as history so abundantly attests, that the influence acquired by them has been frequently abused. When, therefore, we see the Presbyterian Church, as

a Church, taking up questions which have an intimate connexion with the structure of our political institutions, and passing resolutions upon them for the purpose of influencing the public mind, it becomes a natural subject of anxiety, not only with Christians, who desire to see politics kept out of the Church, but with politicians and statesmen, who are always jealous of such interference. It tends to keep alive and nourish that prejudice, which has so long been felt, and to give occasion for a renewal of the charge—that Christians in their organizations have political designs.”—pp. 96—98.

Mr. Colton's third chapter is devoted to the consideration of certain objections to the Liturgy, and other forms and modes of Episcopal worship. On this side of the Atlantic, we have been so long familiar with these notable topics of discontent, that any lengthened discussion of the subject would, probably, inflict a mortal weariness on our readers. It may, therefore, be sufficient to enumerate the causes of deadly offence which the consciences of Protestant America has discovered in the great work of our Anglican Reformers. *First*, then, the Episcopal Liturgy is a *Roman* Liturgy; and, can anything thing good come from the Seven Hills? *Secondly*, it abounds with tedious and unprofitable repetitions. *Thirdly*, there is too much getting up, and sitting down; too frequent a change of posture, and of topic; too much interchange of different kinds of service, &c. &c. *Fourthly*, the use of a ritual by all the people is no better than a decent mantle thrown over the apathy, or the hypocrisy, of the greater portion of them: as if there were some magic virtue in the services of the conventicle, which could strip the covering from the heart of every outward worshipper, and lay it bare to the public inspection. *Fifthly*, the responses of the congregation are improper, unprofitable, and tend to confusion—a charge from which, alas! most congregations in *this* country seem (by their careful abstinence from all audible manifestation of their own personal concern in the public offices of religion), most commendably anxious to relieve themselves! *Sixthly*, the liturgical form of worship is utterly powerless; since, in spite of all its appliances and means, it is notorious that the Episcopalians have no religion; they are mere formalists: an imputation which causes Mr. Colton to blush for the uncharitableness of his countrymen! The *seventh* objection is, in fact, but supplementary to the first,—the numerous holy days, and saints' days,—the observance of which is either appointed or recommended,—are mere worthless relics of Romish superstition. And, here again, we have to remark, that the notions, or at least the practice, of many of our own brethren appear to be in marvellous accordance with those of the ultra-protestant fraternities of America! And yet, how singularly curious it is,

that those very persons, who loathe the solemn commemoration of apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, should be absolutely insatiable of certain stated appointments, originating in their own fantastic caprices, and usually known by the name of *religious occasions*! The list of these *occasions*, Mr. Colton tells us, is perfectly suprising. They form a calendar, which might emulate that of Rome; and, before which, our own sinks into utter insignificance. And all these *holy days* have received their consecration *within the last twenty years*. The original monthly *Concert*—(for that is the title by which many of the *occasions* are designated)—on the subject of general missions, has long since attained a very sacred estimation; and so, in its train, have several others of the same class. There are several annual *Concerts*, to which very great importance is attached; as, for instance, the first Monday in the year, *for the world*; a day in February, *for colleges*; another, *for the cause of temperance*; and various others, each with its specific design. In order to show how easy it is to originate these *ordinances*, Mr. Colton informs us that the above-mentioned celebration of the first Monday in the year, received its first impulse from the suggestion of a lady! It was a lady who launched it, and, by her personal influence, *got it under weigh*; till, at last, it sailed onward, with canvass expanded, and colours flying, into the deep and broad sea of the Presbyterian and Congregational communion. It is the same, he tells us, with nearly all the religious and benevolent movements of the day. With few exceptions, they have issued forth, not from the reservoirs and fountain-heads of ecclesiastical authority, but from obscure sources, to which it soon becomes difficult, and next to impossible, to trace them.

The effect of these multitudinous, and often long-protracted religious exercitations, has been—(to use the quaint expression of Mr. Colton)—the breaking *up*, and the breaking *down*, of the clergy of the land. They are broken *up*,—for the exhaustion of their physical and mental energies, under this excessive and perpetual demand for stimulating religious applications, compels them to seek relief, by incessant change of situation, a process destructive of their stationary local influence. They are broken *down*,—because the same demand pursues them into every new locality. “There can be no stability of pastoral relation, in such a state of the public mind. And, what is still more melancholy, the pastors themselves cannot endure it—they cannot live. They are, not only constantly fluctuating, literally afloat on the wide surface of the community; their spirits are sinking, and they are fast treading upon each other’s heels, to the grave—their only place of rest.” All this while, they have but

little sympathy from the fanatical multitudes, for whom they are consuming themselves. For truly, the multitudes have, at hand, an exceedingly cheap and comfortable anodyne for the sufferings of their pastors,—even the very humane and considerate maxim, that *it is better to wear out, than to rust out!*

It will not appear at all wonderful that, in a state of society like that which is here described, the grand accusation of all, against any prescribed form of devotion, should be loudly and generally echoed; namely, that it fetters the freedom of the spirit—that it essays to bind the wind which bloweth whithersoever it listeth. This charge very strongly reminds us of the reply of the Jews to our Saviour,—*we never were in bondage to any man* :* and this, when they were themselves trampled beneath the feet of imperial Rome. Mr. Colton shows (as many have shown before him), that they who are so disdainful of the tyranny of forms, are, in fact, in as errant bondage to forms, as the unhappy slaves whom they affect to pity and despise. There is no getting rid of forms, in public worship. The hymns of the conventicle are, manifestly, forms. Their prayers, too, are forms. “With few exceptions,” Mr. Colton justly observes, “and with little variation, the public prayers, if not *prescribed*, are *set* forms.” Men of ordinary endowments, who are supposed to pray extemporaneously, do but “run through an accustomed, and, to their hearers, a well-recognized round of thought, from which they seldom depart, week after week, and year after year. Some of them cannot vary from their set phrases.” Those who are more amply gifted may appear to be less confined, or, as the phrase is, to have *more liberty*, in addressing the Lord. “But if their prayers are rich and various, a peep into *their drawers* will ordinarily discover that this *gift* is an *acquisition*, not an endowment; and that this rich variety is the result of untiring pains to commit to writing and to memory, in the same manner as the best *extemporaneous* preachers produce their discourses. Their prayers are *forms*, out of sight; but they are no less *forms*.” In fact, prayers, thus elaborately prepared, are only sermons in another shape; and (with some rare and marvellous exceptions) no human capacity or accomplishment can ever be equal to this inordinate amount of *preparation*. “If prayers are studied, sermons will be neglected. If supreme attention is given to sermons, the prayers will be, not only formal, but meagre. Doubtless, in nine parts out of ten, both in number and quantity, these *extemporaneous* prayers are mere forms; and these forms—(most common, stale, and low, having all the vices of form, without the purity of a prescribed and

* Joh n, viii. 33.

“authorized ritual)—are *stereotyped* in the public mind ; in the “mind of the leader, and of those who are led.”—p. 117.

Having thus laid before us a whole Iliad of mischiefs, Mr. Colton proceeds to give us the following brief and concentrated exhibition of the evil ; to which we earnestly solicit the attention of our readers :—

“Never since the days of the apostles was a country blessed with so enlightened, pious, orthodox, faithful, willing clergy, as the United States of America at this moment ; and never did a ministry, so worthy of trust, have so little independence to act according to their conscience and best discretion. They are literally the victims of a spiritual tyranny, that has started up and burst upon the world in a new form—at least with an extent of sway that has never been known. It is an influence, which comes up from the lowest conditions of life, which is vested in the most ignorant minds, and therefore the more unbending and uncontrollable. It is an influence, which has been fostered and blown into a wide-spread flame, by a class of itinerating ministers, who have suddenly started up and overrun the land, decrying and denouncing all that have not yielded at once to their sway—by direct and open efforts shaking and destroying public confidence in the settled and more permanent ministry—leaving old paths and striking out new ones—demolishing old systems and substituting others—and disturbing and deranging the whole order of society, as it had existed before. And it is to this new state of things, so harassing, so destructive to health and life, that the regular ministry of this country—the best qualified, most pious, most faithful, and in all respects the most worthy Christian ministry, that the Church has ever enjoyed in any age—are made the victims. They cannot resist it—they are overwhelmed by it.

“Doubtless, there is a redeeming spirit in reserve ; I could not confide in Providence, if I did not believe it. The clergy of this land are worth too much to be lost—to be sacrificed. I trust it will not be long before they will be able to assert their prerogatives, and recover their appropriate influence.”—pp. 138, 139.

In the fourth chapter, the *claims* of Episcopacy are considered. Of course, Mr. Colton does not attempt to embrace the whole of this high argument. He is content to refer to the great standard works, for a due exhibition of that argument, in all its impregnable strength ; and, simply, to point out those more prominent considerations which have, principally, influenced him in the formation of his own opinions. Our space forbids us to do much more than intimate that, in the outset of this discussion, he plants his foot upon very lofty ground. He assumes it to have been the design of Christ that there should be a permanent ministry, of some kind or other, over his Church ; and he argues that a ministry, without *authority*, is something altogether nugatory and contemptible. Authority is the inseparable attribute of office ; nay, its very essence. As for the forms and modes, under which the office is instituted—*these*, indeed, may be merely accidents ; but,

even so, these accidents themselves are matters of the deepest importance; seeing that, without them, it is impossible for the world to know what, and whom, to respect, as invested with authority. But, further, if such provision was originally needful, it is equally needful that it should be continued in *uninterrupted succession*. If there has, anywhere, been a chasm, or a break, *the gates of hell have prevailed*. And the prevalence of the gates of hell must be manifest to all the world, if the chasm should be so vast, the break so wide, that no man can see over it, or tell us what was beyond it. No matter how many may have been the "dark ages," or how dark they were; to admit that the obscurity was so deep as to involve us in utter ignorance on this essential point, is to admit that the ministry, which the apostles set up, has been lost; and, with it, the visibility of the Saviour's kingdom. Now, the only definite form of administration which can be distinctly traced back, through all ages, to the apostolic times, is Episcopacy. And then the question arises—was such the polity and government established by the apostles themselves? If it was, there is an end of the debate. If it was not—if Presbytery, or any other form, besides the Episcopal, were, in truth, the original ordinance of the apostles, then we are driven to the supposition, that the apostolic institution was thrown into a deep sleep, almost as soon as it was born; that its place was seized, and retained for fifteen hundred years, by an illegitimate and usurping power; and that, at the end of that long period, the lawful inheritor suddenly awakened from its deadly slumbers, to vindicate its birthright:—an assumption so amazing as to astound the present writer, now that his vision is purged from the dimness which had been clouding it for twenty years.

We know not what the Transatlantic *Un-episcopal* communities will say to all this! The Presbyterians, more especially—how will *they* bear to be told that the chasm in their own succession is so vast, as to indicate that, with them, the gates of hell have been triumphant, and have made a deadly breach in their connexion with the Head of the Universal Church? Will it pacify them to declare, as Mr. Colton has declared, that the Americans are the most religious people upon earth; that religion, as an element of society, has developed itself among them with more energy, and more vitality, than it has in any other portion of the Christian world? These are questions which we feel ourselves quite unable to dispose of. We must, accordingly, leave Mr. Colton to adjust this matter with his separated brethren. We do collect, indeed, from certain passages of his work, that he may possibly find the matter somewhat less difficult than might at first be imagined. It does appear that, although, in his judgment, a

break in the succession is neither more nor less than a triumph of the gates of hell ; yet, on the other hand, the defeat thus achieved is by no means to be regarded as so irreparably fatal, that it shall of necessity separate any class of believers from the love of Christ. And he concludes that, if so, neither ought it to separate the various classes from holy and charitable communication with each other. Such communication, he tells us, is perpetually and most beneficially exemplified, in the constitution and management of those religious and humane associations which are scattered over the land ; and “ on the *public platforms* of which, Christians of “ all creeds, and of all sects, have met together, shaken hands, “ reciprocated the kindest and holiest charities, prayed together, “ pledged union, and been happy.”—p. 192. From this, and various other expressions to a similar effect, we infer that, however *decided* may be his present views, they, nevertheless, imply no disposition to consign those who differ from him, to a sweeping sentence of excommunication. We cannot, indeed, by any means commit ourselves to an unqualified approval of that indiscriminate and miscellaneous co-operation which is viewed with so much complacency by him : but we do most gladly produce the sentiments expressed by Mr. Colton, as a proof that his spirit is essentially charitable and comprehensive. Indeed, it is evident, from the whole tenor of his work, that if he has felt it his duty to speak the truth, he has likewise felt it his delight to speak the truth in love. The complexion of his mind may be sufficiently discerned from the following sentences :—

“ The principle of Episcopacy must obtain ; the religious world cannot do without it ; it is essential in society for the management of religious enterprises, on any extended scale. I have shown, that it now pervades and governs the American religious world throughout. It is even astonishing with what rapidity it has come over the land. It is the result of necessity in all such great religious efforts, associated and combined, as have characterized this country for a few years past.

“ In view of the position which we now occupy in relation to the past and future—the workings of the religious elements in our own land—and of that free and independent thinking which characterizes the public mind, which withal must have its influence in our public schools and theological seminaries—if indeed, there be any strong claims in Episcopacy, it cannot be matter of surprise, that it should soon obtain a respect even in this country, which it has not heretofore realized. There are at present two very influential considerations, which may lawfully constitute a ground for such an anticipation. One is, that the religious extravagances of the country will naturally drive the more sober part of the community to this resort for protection. The other is, upon the premises here occupied, viz., that Episcopacy has strong claims to respect, sober inquiry, candid investigation, and temperate discussion, will bring doubts

over the minds of numerous candidates for the Christian ministry, as to the validity of other orders, and compel them in obedience to conscience to resolve those doubts by adopting the only alternative that lies before them. The question in their minds will be reduced to this :—Other ordination is uncertain—unsatisfactory ; this is allowed by all to be valid ; it has a respect in the conscience, and a currency in the opinion of all mankind. Let us, therefore, adopt that, concerning which there is no doubt.”—pp. 163, 164.

The fifth chapter, which relates to the new and “ Extraordinary “ Religious State of the Country,” is principally interesting for its reference to a Discourse, delivered on the 1st of May, 1834, by Mons. D'Aubigné, President of the Theological Seminary of Geneva, at the commencement of the annual Session ; and entitled, the “ Invariableness of the Doctrines of Christianity, amid “ the Diversity of its Forms. The Voice of the Church one and “ the same in all Ages.” We have had no opportunity of perusing this remarkable publication, and are, therefore, unable to pronounce any satisfactory judgment respecting its historical or philosophical merits. Thus much, however, is obvious,—that if it does not much assist the judgment, it at least may help the memory of the student of ecclesiastical history. For the author sets forth, in this essay, four grand developments of Christianity, which, after something of a Baconian fashion, he denominates, The Form of *Life* ; The Form of *Doctrine* ; The Form of the *School* ; and, lastly, The Form of the *Reformation*. The first of these, the Form of *Life*, comprehends a period of about three centuries from the apostolic times, during which, as he contends, there was a most wonderful development of the moral and vital power of the Christian faith. Next follows the Form of *Doctrine*, which extends from the beginning of the fourth century to the middle of the eleventh. During the predominance of this *Form*, the most awful and mysterious doctrines of Christianity passed through the furnace of controversial discussion, and emerged in the form of creeds, and other elaborate theological statements, under the sanction of the greatest names in the Church. Then came the *Form of the School*, which brought the whole Christian scheme under the dominion of logic and metaphysics, and exhibited it to the world as a scientific system. Lastly, there appeared the *Form of the Reformation*, which united the three sorts of culture which preceded it ; starting with the *Life*, going forward into *Doctrine*, and consolidating its triumphs with the strength which belongs to *systematic arrangement*.

But, even so, the destinies of this grand and remedial dispensation, it seems, are not yet fulfilled. According to the modest

conjecture of M. D'Aubigné, a *fifth* development, or Form, is now commencing in the Church; a Form, the outlines or the features of which can, as yet, scarcely be discerned. At present all is shadowy, mysterious, and indistinct. But the vision is every moment becoming more bright, and more defined; more clearly "distinguishable" in the appearance of "member, joint, and limb." And the final result, the philosopher ventures to surmise, will be an universal activity in extending to every race of men, and to every man of every race, the advantages which have been developed under the preceding Forms; so that life, doctrine, and Christian science, will at length become the property of the world, in a measure and degree which has been hitherto unknown.

That some such consummation may be expected, previously to the final completion of the Mediatorial design, we have no obscure scriptural warrant for anticipating. But we have, likewise, before us a voluminous amount of cautionary instruction, in the abortive speculations of many a theological adventurer, who has presumed to launch into this vast ocean of futurity. In the eyes of Mr. Colton, indeed, the *vision tarrieth not*. The last *development*, he tells us, is now opening on mankind, in the land of his fathers. Together with its subordinate developments, it has been passing before the eyes of the world, ever since the first settlement of the country, and is still visibly and rapidly expanding. "*The way of the Lord,*" he affirms, "*is here prepared.*" As, in the construction and arrangement of our civil and political fabric, we had the power of rejecting the vices inherent in the institutions of the old world, and, by the favour of Providence, have, in a great measure succeeded; so have we been able to reject the vices of their religious systems, and to gain an advancement on the rest of the Christian world, in this particular; which, *if discreetly used by us*, bids fair to give us the lead in that grand development of Christianity which, in the theory of M. D'Aubigné, "is supposed to be now in progress."—pp. 168, 169.

We have no disposition whatever to shed one chilling drop of discouragement on these fervid anticipations. We must, however, say that if "*the way be prepared,*" or in a course of preparation, it must, indeed, be the work of some mighty and heaven-directed agent. Mr. Colton has been at some pains to disclose the conflicting and mutinous condition of the elements in the religious world of Protestant America. And one would imagine, to judge by his representation, that nothing short of superhuman power could make—

"The boiling gulf
Tamely endure a bridge of wondrous length,"

whereon the armies of the Living God may go steadily forward on their majestic march. If we understand Mr. Colton rightly, his persuasion is, that the agency by which this stupendous work is to be completed, is no other than the Episcopal and Apostolic Church; which, of late years, has been shaking herself from the dust, and putting on her pure and beautiful garments, and deliberately gathering her might. He does not, indeed, positively and distinctly declare as much. But we can scarcely collect less than this, from the whole tenor of his speculations. The case which he has presented to us, is briefly as follows:—The whole of American society is pervaded by a most intense religious susceptibility. This mighty principle, however, instead of being duly regulated, and wisely applied, has been suffered to burst forth, and to sweep over the land. “The winds have been “untied,” and they have long been “fighting against the churches.” They have made wild work with all the forms of religious organization which stood in their course. They have every where disturbed and dislocated the pastoral relations; and, in many instances, have entirely broken them up. The violence of their assault has unsettled and confounded the public mind, and spread a sort of religious anarchy throughout the Union. But a crisis is now at hand, which must determine whether order or confusion shall have the dominion. There seems to be a formidable and growing combination of all well-disciplined minds against these eccentric and insurrectionary doings. And, of all the communities in America, where is there one so fit to direct and rule the *conservative* agency, as the Episcopal Church? If we may trust the statements of Mr. Colton, *she* only possesses her soul in peace, in the midst of the bewildering disorder. The *Spirit of love* she has, in common with all others. But it is scarcely too much to say, that the *Spirit of power and of soberness*, rests almost exclusively with her. If, therefore, the factious elements, which are now striving for mastery, are ever to be recalled, by whose voice can this be so potentially effected as by hers? And, if they are ever to be brought into harmony and union, where is the *nucleus* around which they may collect themselves, with so fair a promise of permanent and solid coalition? She is conscious of her divine origin; and we are here repeatedly assured that she has shaken off those vile accretions which are supposed to have encumbered her strength, and darkened her *beauty* of holiness, throughout the European world. She, therefore, of all others, is beyond comparison, best fitted “to take the lead in *any* grand development “of Christianity,” and to bring it on to a prosperous consummation.

But here it may possibly be asked—and most probably will be asked—are we to conclude that the excentric, ill-disciplined, energy which has long been upon the wing, has hitherto been at work only, or principally, for evil? Have not human souls been awakened by it from the sleep of death? Has the electric power produced no wholesome and purifying effect upon the moral atmosphere? Have the lightnings flashed, and the thunders rolled in vain? Has the tempest sent abroad nothing but noise, and tumult, and consternation? For all these startling questions it appears Mr. Colton has been fully prepared. And he has answered them like a Christian philosopher. He distinctly concedes that these impetuous and “thought-executing fires” have, beyond all question, been attended with a certain amount of salutary result. But, then, he very wisely contends that no test can be more fallacious than the mere positive amount of good which may have been achieved by undisciplined force, unless it be compared with that which might have been accomplished by the same power, if brought into systematic, steady, and well-ordered operation. In the absence of massy and well-trained battalions, a *guerilla* warfare may work its occasional prodigies towards the deliverance of an invaded country. And yet it may be true that a standing force, well-officered, and thoroughly appointed, affords a far more certain guarantee of national independence and honour. In the same manner, an Episcopal Church, completely and effectually organized, may offer a much more firm and ample security for the national virtue and religion, than a miscellaneous levy of sectarian societies. We are all too apt to estimate the virtue of any principle of action, by what (to borrow the language of the geologists) may be termed its *paroxysmal* effects; overlooking, all the while, the still mightier results of more sedate and uniform agencies. A hurricane, while it sweeps away the pestilence, may be spreading havoc among the works of man, and the products of nature. But hurricanes are overpowering and memorable phenomena; while the dews, and the breezes, and the sunshine of heaven, are constantly but gently shedding down blessings upon the heedless and the unthankful. And thus it is with the religious world. A course of spiritual agitation, accompanied by violent eruptions of activity, are sure to stir the spirits, and to inflame the hopes, of all who cannot endure life without excitement; and the goings forth of these “tempest-footed” ministers is exultingly compared with the lazy and measured pace of ancient and worn-out institutions! Against this most pernicious delusion, Mr. Colton very decidedly, though very temperately, protests. He admits that, by this turbulent instrumentality, souls have been brought into a spiritual union

with Christ; and this, by the score, or by the hundred, or in any number which the advocates of the system may be pleased to claim. But he, nevertheless, objects to that mode of operation; because, in his deliberate judgment, an incomparably greater number of souls might be saved by a more regular process, kept up with uniform and unvarying intensity.—p. 175. In other words (as we should interpret his meaning), the Episcopal constitution, as exemplified in the United States, would be of all others the most beneficial and effective, because the most orderly, *dispenser* of the religious susceptibilities of the American people.

We know not whether our readers will opine that we have bestowed a somewhat disproportionate attention upon this little volume. We cannot prevail upon *ourselves* to think so. America is the bright *exemplar* to which all the adversaries of our ancient institutions are constantly and triumphantly pointing. It must, therefore, be a valuable and most interesting accession to our knowledge, to have before us a distinct and luminous exposition of her present religious state; and this, from the hand of one who is intimately familiar with the principles, and the operations, of every religious communion in the land. Of the evils incident to the systems which he has renounced, Mr. Colton may justly say—

“ Quæque ipse *miserrima* vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui !”

But still, in spite of all the strife and mischief which he has so closely witnessed, he evidently has about him not one particle of the proverbial malice of a renegade. On the contrary, he retains the most ardent affection towards the societies which he has quitted, while he bitterly deplores their aberrations and excesses. We may, therefore, confidently rest in the belief that we are in possession of testimony above all exception. And surely the subject of which he speaks must stir the heart of every faithful member of the Anglican Church; whether that Church is still to remain implicated with the State, or whether she is doomed to a trial of her own inherent and independent virtue. Besides, a still higher importance belongs to this publication. It furnishes an answer to those who mock at the thought that *God doth take care* for mere forms of church government. Mr. Colton has shown that all the tendencies of the Christian world are towards the Episcopal principle of administration; that this same principle is in almost universal activity; and nowhere more active than among those who set their faces, like a flint, against the formal recognition of it. What, then, are we to conclude, but that Episcopacy, under some shape or modification, is neither

more nor less than the dictate of man's constitution, as a social and religious being; the inevitable result of his necessities? And, if this be so, what marvel is it that the Almighty should stamp it with the express sanction of his own sovereign will? And why should it be thought a thing incredible, that, in this, as well as in all other instances, the voice of Revelation should be in perfect harmony with the voice of Nature?

ART. II.—1. *Architectural Notes on German Churches. A new Edition. To which is now added, Notes, written during an Architectural Tour in Picardy and Normandy.* By the Rev. W. Whewell, M. A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge, 1835.

2. *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy.* By R. Willis, M. A. F. R. S., late Fellow of Caius College. Cambridge, 1835.

3. *Denkmäler der Deutschen Baukunst.* Dargestellt von Dr. Georg Moller. Leipzig und Darmstadt.

CHURCH Architecture, ever a subject of deep interest to the educated Churchman, may be said to be one fraught with peculiar importance to members of our Anglican communion, at the moment in which we write. The mysterious law by which, according to the existing constitution of the moral universe, good and evil seem ever to advance in connexion with each other, each eliciting and developing its opposite, appears likely to receive a fresh illustration from the manifestation of a spirit among the friends of the Church, which has been, instrumentally, kindled by the activity of her enemies. The epoch of her history, which has witnessed the promulgation of schemes previously unheard of, for the degradation of her rulers, and for the diminution of her patrimony, has now also witnessed the formation and adoption of the most noble design for the augmentation of that patrimony, and for the extension of her hallowed influence over a corrupt metropolis, which has been conceived since the Reformation. We allude, we need not say, to the proposal, originating with the Bishop of London, for building and endowing fifty new Churches in the city over which he has been called on spiritually to preside. The mention of this proposal, in connexion with works which treat of the noblest and most colossal relics of ecclesiastical architecture in the world, may appear to some persons out of place; as it is but too evident, that in the exigency of our times, and in the actual condition of our Church, we may not

dream of lavishing, like our forefathers, the resources of architectural science to beautify the temples which we hope to raise to the honour of the Most High. Yet, as we are about to erect, not conventicles, but Churches,—not rooms for the schismatical congregation of ephemeral sects, but shrines for the unchanging worship of the apostolical ministry, it is to be presumed that the committee to whom, under the Bishop, the management of the subscription fund has been entrusted, will feel it a duty to regard in some degree that “beauty of holiness” with which pure catholic piety has ever sought to invest the structures which she reared. And strict as may be the economy, or even, to use a stronger word, the parsimony, which circumstances may be felt to impose, we are convinced that an appreciation of the principles of architectural majesty and beauty, as developed in those magnificent memorials of the devotion of our ancestors, the Cathedrals of Europe, must exhibit its results in the symmetry of the proportions, in the harmonious combination of the parts—and, if we may so say, in the general sentiment and idea, of the humblest and most frugal temple erected under its influence.

It is, therefore, with peculiar interest that, at a moment like this, we have studied the volumes of Messrs. Whewell and Willis. The appearance of those volumes has, we think, more fully than any other circumstance which has come within our cognizance, illustrated to our eyes the completeness of that revolution in the national feeling, with respect to the ecclesiastical architecture of our forefathers, which has taken place since that architecture received the appellation “Gothic,” in token of contempt; since men thought, with Sir Henry Wotton, that pointed arches, “both for the natural imbecility of the sharp angle itself, and likewise from their very uncomeliness, ought to be exciled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the Gothes or Lombards, amongst other reliques of that barbarous age.”* We have, here, distinguished members of one of our universities, men totally unconnected with architecture as a profession, and possessing minds of too high an order to become mere fanciful admirers of the picturesque, who have devoted their talents, and the leisure which academic avocations allow them, to the study—as of a science,—to the systematical, philosophical study of the once neglected fabrics of our ancestors; attempting, in the language of Mr. Willis, to do with them that which we should have had to do with the architectural relics of the classic world, had not the revival of letters awakened the work of Vitruvius “from a sleep of nine centuries;” to recover, that is, its forgotten principles by the examination of examples.

* Elements of Architecture, 1624. Vide Britton's Architect. Antiquities, vol. v. p. 34

The more detailed inquiries of the two gentlemen in question have been directed into different channels. Mr. Whewell, in devoting his attention to the churches of Germany, and secondarily to those of Normandy, has confined himself to districts within which Gothic architecture in its pure form may be considered as having been indigenous. There was, as he himself remarks, a time when every species of architecture, if it was not classical, and more especially if it exhibited, in any of its details, the far-famed pointed arch, was denominated "Gothic." And when this was the case, the geographical limits of Gothic architecture were of course shadowy and indefinite. But now, when that architecture is recognized as constituting a system, as dependent on certain organic principles, and as existing in the harmonious combination of the forms to which those principles have given birth, the limits over which, in the period of its development, it prevailed, may be more accurately ascertained. In those limits England, France, and the Netherlands, are unquestionably comprized; and in Germany, according to Mr. Whewell, they extend at least as far eastward as Magdeburg in the north and Vienna in the south. The former of these cities however, is, we would remark, much further from the sphere of its complete dominion than the latter; though fine individual buildings are to be found in the Saxon portion of the empire, the principal trophies of Gothic science within the Germanic territory are to be found in the regions of the south and west, whence it was that civilization and the arts were slowly spread over the ruder north and east, and whence it is that Mr. Whewell has drawn his most striking and most numerous examples.

In Italy, the predominating genius of classic antiquity never thoroughly gave place to that of northern art. Milan cathedral, sometimes cited as the Gothic wonder of Italy, if tested by true Gothic principles, appears irregular and unharmonious; its façade being rendered incongruous by classic windows and doorways, its piers within being separated from the weight which they should be seen to support, by the unmeaning circles of images which constitute their capitals, and the upright effect of the innumerable pinnacles which decorate its exterior being overpowered by the presence of what Mr. Whewell calls a "marble army" of statues upon their summits. Spain, though some of its cathedrals are celebrated, appears to have been indebted for its principal honours of this nature to the skill of architects from more northern climes. Burgos, for instance, according to Mr. Whewell, was built by John of Cologne and his son Simon after 1442, a period when even in Germany Gothic art had proceeded far on its decline. While of Batalha, the glory of Portugal,

which was founded by Don John I., as a thank-offering for the victory which he gained in 1385 on the plains of Aljubarrota, we are informed by its historian, Father Luis de Sousa, that the king invited from distant countries the most celebrated architects that could be found and collected from all parts.* A statement which is corroborated by the accounts which ascribe the honour of erecting this structure to an Irish artist of the name of Hacket. And it is observed by the author of the "*Denkmäler*," that the edifice itself, when considered with a critical eye, bears witness to the fact, that its architecture is the offspring of a northern clime incongruously modified by a more southern situation; as its flat stone roof, though adapted to the skies of Portugal, is not more unsuited to the snowy regions of the North of Europe than it is to the pointed west window, the angular portal, and the tapering pinnacles, which form the other leading features of the building which it covers.

We may, therefore, it appears, take the Alps and Pyrenees as the southern boundary of the territory within which Gothic architecture, if we may use the expression, flourished as a native. Nor is any portion of that territory, we will venture to affirm, more rich in specimens calculated to throw light upon the history of the style than the region, peculiarly studied by Mr. Whewell, which contains the great episcopal and archiepiscopal cities of the Rhine, and its neighbouring rivers; the region in which was conceived the crowning idea of Gothic art; the idea, to use Mr. Whewell's words, of that splendid and majestic vision which would have been embodied by the completion of the cathedral of Cologne.† To that region, the architectural representative, as we may call it, of Germany at large, and to a comparison of its Gothic trophies with our own, our remarks in the present article will principally be directed,—a fact which our readers may perhaps have already inferred from the circumstance of our naming at its head, in conjunction with the works of our two academic countrymen, one of the most general in its subject, and, therefore, most universally interesting, of the many illustrative works on the architecture of the middle ages which Germany has recently put forth,—Dr. Moller's "*Monuments of German Architecture*."

Mr. Willis, whose object is principally to call attention to the architectural variety which arose in Italy, in consequence of the partial introduction of Gothic principles and of their combination, to a certain extent, with classic notions, would consequently appear to be beyond the scope of our present criticism. But from

* *Vide Plans, Elevations, &c. of the Church of Batalha*, by James Murphy, 1798.

† Whewell, page 113.

the imperfect state in which the science, so to term it, of Gothic architecture now exists, he has found it necessary to dwell, through the greater portion of his work, on remarks of a general nature, which are rather prefatory to the accurate examination of Gothic buildings in general, than to a description of the style of any one country in particular. His chapter on mechanical and decorative construction,—his definition of the different classes of shafts,—his analysis of the elaborate arch and door-ways of the middle ages into series of arches, each individual member of which is thus made to fall with ease under the powers of scientific description—are wrought with a master's hand; and we ourselves shall, in the following pages, have such frequent occasion, if not to refer to them, to avail ourselves of the ideas which they have suggested, that we have felt it incumbent on us thus directly to call attention to them, and to express our high opinion of their value.

It is on higher grounds than those of taste or science alone that we rejoice in the study, by minds like those of Mr. Whewell and Mr. Willis, of the cathedrals and other great churches of the continent. When the fact first became apparent to English antiquaries, that the ecclesiastical architecture of our ancestors, though at variance with the systems of Greece and Rome, was in itself harmonious and beautiful, so little was known of the Gothic splendours of regions "beyond sea," that our own little island was fondly imagined to have been the peculiar nursery of that architecture, and the grand scene of its exploits. The Society of Antiquaries, in their account of Durham cathedral, published 1802, ventured to state

"There is very little doubt that the light and elegant style of building, whose principal and characteristic feature is the high pointed arch struck from two centres, was invented in this country; it is certain that it was here brought to its highest state of perfection; and the testimony of other countries, whose national traditions ascribe their most beautiful churches to English artists, adds great weight to this assertion, and peculiar propriety to the term *English*, now proposed to be substituted for the word Gothic."

Now, however, that our state of peace has enabled our intelligent countrymen to gaze on the grandeur of continental piles,—to contemplate the unrivalled choir of Amiens, half as lofty again as that of Westminster, our loftiest interior; and to stand before the majestic west front of Strasburg, which, exclusively of the noble spire which stands upon it, exceeds in height the towers or spires themselves of any western front in England,*—they have

* The horizontal line which forms the upper limit of the rectangular façade of Strasburg is 228 feet from the pavement, the spire rising again to 228 feet above it, and making the total altitude 456. The extreme height of the western towers of York is 196 feet, of those of Lincoln 180, of Westminster 225, and of the western spires of Lichfield 191.

learnt to abandon in great measure this exclusiveness of pretension. And we ourselves, subject as we are to nationality like our brethren, must confess that we rejoice in the fact. One "root of bitterness" among the current notions of our age and country is the insularity of our churchmanship. Thrust as we have been by a decree of the Roman patriarch from communion with the churches of the South, and compelled ourselves to decline communion with many societies which assume the name of churches in the North, we have unhappily, though naturally, fallen into the error of conceiving the natural limits of our Church to be co-extensive with those of our country; forgetting the great truth, that the Church of England is not an English, national, institution, but the English branch of that Catholic institution which was founded by our Lord, which was subjected by Him to his Apostles, and which has ever since been governed by the Bishops, their successors. But when, overstepping our own narrow pale, we find in the rest of north-western Europe devotional piles based on the same scientific rules, and inspiring, so to speak, the same feelings with our own; when we trace in their forms, their proportions, their decorations, the evidences either of an incessant intercommunication of ideas, or of a striking sympathy of religious habit and feeling, between different members of the great family of nations, we can scarcely fail to be reminded that our present state of ecclesiastical isolation is not our natural condition; that there were ages, many ages, during which we spoke the same thing with our neighbours, and the Church was at unity in itself throughout the Western world. The separation which has since occurred was not our doing; we had not, happily, even in form to execute the task of isolating ourselves; but we are as much bound to lament the isolation as a dutiful son, who has been banished by the crimes of a parent from the home of his youth, is bound to mourn with pious sorrow over the unmerited estrangement.

Traceable, in some measure, to this insularity of notion, are the names "Saxon and Norman," which have been commonly applied, as generic terms, by English antiquaries, to designate the mode of ecclesiastical architecture which preceded the introduction of the pointed or Gothic* style. It now appears that the same mode, as far at least as its main characteristics are concerned, prevailed over the whole region which we have already described as the patria of the Gothic; its relics being found in countries far beyond the control of either the Saxon or the Nor-

* This latter term cannot, perhaps, be defended on the score of correctness; but the universality of its adoption may be thought to have put it beyond the reach of criticism.

man race. And a more careful consideration of it than antiquaries of the last age were in the habit of giving, will sufficiently show its real origin and the propriety of the name of "Romanesque," which Mr. Whewell proposes to adopt as its application. The term, we believe, was invented by the Rev. Wm. Gunn, who introduced it in a treatise on Gothic architecture published in 1819; but that gentleman wished to denote by it all the styles, taken collectively, which existed in Northern Europe between the age of Constantine and the revival of the Grecian orders in the sixteenth century; thus including the Gothic, which is by no means an "esque" of any kind, an adaptation or imitation of rules of any other school, but a system complete in itself, dependent upon principles of which it has itself elicited the primary illustration, and possessing, so to say, its own inherent and independent vitality. To the use, however, of the word in the restricted sense of Mr. Whewell, as a substitute for "Saxon" or "Norman," we anticipate no possible objection. It corresponds with the word "Romane" already adopted by the antiquaries of France to designate the style in question; and after what we have said already, we need not say how important we feel it to be that the scientific terminology of Northern architecture should be, not national, but European. And it brings before us, we cannot doubt, the true origin of the style in question, in leading us to consider it an imitation—and as an imitation an unskilful one—of Roman architecture.

When Christianity was first introduced to our island, she came in the train of Roman art and of Roman power. And when, her first footsteps having been nearly effaced, she once more appeared among us, it was again from Rome that she came; nor can the Germanic population who then became subject to her controul be supposed to have possessed either principles of taste or canons of architectural art which might modify the influence of Augustine and his countrymen over the construction of the temples which she required for her worship. The Saxons had landed, in a state of barbarism, upon our island; and if, indeed, the fanes which they erected to their idols possessed any features worthy of the name of architectural decoration, those features must have been suggested by such relics of Roman magnificence as Hengist and Horsa had found existing on our shores. But from the circumstance that the erection by St. Ninian of a stone church in Galloway, was sufficient permanently to affix the name of "*Candida Casa*" to an episcopal see—*eo quod ibi Ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit*—(*Bed. Hist.* l. 3, c. 4)—we may infer that stone buildings, of any date,

were at that time (A. D. 448) very rare in Britain. And the historian who states the above fact, in speaking of the principal stone churches which were, subsequently to the conversion of the Saxons, reared among them,—as, for instance, of his own church at Monkwearmouth,—describes them as built “after the manner of the Romans;” while of the cathedral built by Finan (A. D. 635) in Lindisfarne, he remarks, that it was built “more Scotorum,” not of stone but of squared timber (*robore secto*), and covered with reed. And various passages from other writers of the same epoch might be adduced to show, that they familiarly contemplated only these two kinds of church building—the Roman style, and the plain unadorned manner in which ecclesiastical fabrics were, in Anglo-Saxon phrase, “timbered” by homebred artisans. Nor could it well have been otherwise. When we recollect the constant intercourse which existed between Rome and England in those early days—when we remember that Bede himself has left on record his admiration of the Coliseum; that Ina, king of the West Saxons, founded an English school in the papal city—that subsequent kings, as Offa of Mercia and Ethelwolf the father of Alfred, would visit, as pilgrims or as suppliants, the apostolic threshold—and that Alfred himself was presented at the early age of five years before the papal throne—we learn to realize to ourselves the predominating influence which Rome must have then exercised over the external forms as well as over the internal character of our religion; and to feel the glaring improbability of the conjecture that in such a state of things any school of taste or design independent of, or opposed to, the Roman one, should have existed among us.

The Normans, like the Saxons, came from their Northern home in a condition rather to learn architecture from the countries in which they settled than to bring any canons of construction along with them. Established in Neustria, their connexion with Rome was yet closer than had been that of the Saxons. Pilgrimage was with them a practice in which the national fervour systematically vented itself. Italy was visited as well on account of its own scenes of legendary holiness as because it was the way to the still more sacred regions of the East. And from this intercourse arose, about the epoch of our conquest, the establishment of Norman sovereignties in Apulia and Sicily,—regions which now became, so to speak, a Cisalpine Normandy, and which formed a tie alike close and permanent between the region of Latin art and the Norman nation in general. Nor, under these circumstances, is it easy to see how an archi-

tectural style could have arisen in that nation derived from any other source than that to which we have attempted to trace the constructive science of the previous invaders of our island.

But the "Norman" style, even when viewed in itself, and without reference to the known or discoverable facts of its history, may be considered as sufficiently indicative of its own origin. The great characteristic of the architecture of the Romans was, as is well known, the combination of the, probably Etrurian, arch and vault with the Grecian column. A prevalent form of their later buildings was (see Mr. Willis, p. 68, plate 1,) the high vaulted hall, long and comparatively narrow, and flanked on each side by a series of lower chambers communicating with it and with each other. The Basilicas which, as we know, gave the model of Christian Churches to the imperial city, contained not only this triple arrangement,—this nave, so to call it, and side aisles,—but also exhibited at the upper end, in the space set apart for the functionaries of the court and for the tribunal of the magistrates,* the counterparts of the transept and of the semi-circular apsis. And such are, as we are all aware, the great habitual features of Norman churches. While with regard to their minor ornaments, it appears that the zig-zag, their constant decoration, had already begun to show itself in the palace which was built by Dioclesian at Spalatro. And the appearance of the Centaur and the Sphynx among the ornaments of Iffley† sufficiently attest the familiarity of their designers with the classic architecture of more southern climes.

In Germany, though the Church of that country is younger, and, as it were, descended from our own—as it was in the eighth century that Winfred, better known as St. Boniface, went forth from the bosom of the Church of England to found it—relics of sacred architecture have come down to our times much earlier in date than any important specimens of our own. At Lorsch, near the Rhine, a building still exists which Dr. Moller identifies with the hall, or ante-church, of a fabric consecrated in 774, in the presence of Charlemagne. In this we find, on the lower story, regular Corinthian semi-columns, and on the upper, Ionic pilasters; which latter, though materially shortened in the shaft, again appear in a species of sarcophagus originally belonging to Lorsch Abbey, but now used as a water-tub or trough in the neighbourhood. And while these symptoms connect the architecture of Lorsch with earlier ages, the appearance, in the interior of its hall, of the zig-zag moulding, seems as clearly to connect it with the style of periods subsequent to its erection.

* Hope, *Hist. of Architecture*, p. 88.

† Vide Britton, *Architect. Antiq.* vol. v.

The building thus forms a link, which cannot be mistaken, between the Romanesque and the Roman. And though fabrics even approaching Lorsch in antiquity are rare, yet before the epoch of our conquest, with which, in fact, commences the history of our existing architecture, the Germans had reared what Mr. Whewell calls the three colossal cathedrals of the Upper Rhine—those of Worms, Mentz, and Spire; in which, while the Romanesque is shown on a scale unrivalled in England, many lights are thrown on its history and on its classic parentage, which we should in vain seek to gather from the works of Norman kings and prelates in our island.

From some German examples, from the cupola, for instance, of Aix-la-Chapelle,—built, it would seem, by Otho III* in the tenth century,—we are led to conclude that the architecture of Constantinople, the grand feature of which was the air-suspended† dome, had considerable influence over the taste of early Germany. Some German writers indeed have adopted, as a general designation for the Romanesque, the term “Byzantinisch.” But as the Byzantine style itself was but a derivative of the Roman; and as this, its grand feature, was never either generally adopted into or scientifically amalgamated with the architecture of the north; there seems to be no good reason for borrowing the name of that architecture from the distant East, rather than from our more neighbouring Latium.

But whatever, as compared with each other, may have been the influences thus exercised over the north by Rome or by Byzantium, it seems clear that the school of architecture thus named sometimes after one of these cities and sometimes after the other, was like the schools of most ages in the history of the world, an *imitative* one. Greece had beheld what we may call an *originative* epoch in the constructive art. From certain data, laid down by necessity; such as the employment of supports entirely of a vertical nature, the arch being unknown; and the arrangement of these supports at no greater distances from each other than the length of the pieces of stone of which it was requisite that they should support the extremities; her sons had elicited the beautiful system of which the great features are

* Hope, Hist. of Architect. p. 340.

† The Grecian dome merited this appellation in a peculiar manner. In the Latin Church the dome was placed, as in St. Peter's, St. Paul's, &c. over a hollow cylinder or circular apartment, its support being directly under its circumference. But in the East this feature of the Church was raised over a square apartment, springing immediately from a circle inscribed as it were in its roof, which had no perpendicular support whatever except at the four points in which it touched the planes of the sides, and of which the rest of the circumference was formed by the edges of spandril-like vaults, or partial domes, called conchs, which sprang from the angles of the apartment.

the row of columns and the superincumbent entablature—a system based, if we may so speak, on its own principles, and exhibiting, throughout its operations, those principles in harmonious accordance. But when the glory of this epoch had passed away, architecture fell back for a long time into an imitative condition. Rome, having numbered Greece among her subject states, had the taste to admire, and with some little modifications to adopt, the Grecian column; and she placed it, as has been said already, in juxtaposition with the arch and the vault which she had elsewhere obtained. But she never succeeded in discovering a principle by which this amalgamation could have assumed the character of a scientific combination. She used the column—adapted as it was to the resistance of a vertical pressure alone—as what Mr. Willis would call the sole decorative support of her buildings; as the only apparent ornamental feature of those buildings which bore a supporting character. Her arches and her vaults visibly claimed support of a nature to resist their lateral and diagonal pressure, but such supports her architects never succeeded in introducing into the “decorative construction” of the piles which they reared. Their principal means of resistance to this side-long pressure consisted in the masses of masonry which were incorporated into the buildings by the ornamental features of which such pressure was exerted. And whilst it was upon these masses, taken in connection with the arches, that the buildings mainly depended for their durability, the column became degraded from the rank of an essential to that of a subordinate and unnecessary part of the fabric. It was regarded as a mere ornament, and as such was often placed, without regard to any principle, in situations where, though its rich capital or its flutings might catch the vulgar eye, it was evidently of no service in the support of the building with which it was connected. It was advanced in front of a wall and made to stand apart from the main weight and pressure of the building, as is the case with some columns in the interior of the Pantheon and with those which adorn several of the great triumphal arches.

In some Roman buildings, indeed, columns may be pointed out which, raised themselves into the air, seem rather to require their entablature for their own steadiness than to bear its weight upon their capitals,—rather to be supported by, than to support, the masses to which they belong. The Grecian entablature, harmonious only as a whole, and while forming from its continuity a beautiful contrast to the alternation of columns and inter-columnar spaces, was, in pursuance of practices like these, often reduced to fragments; a narrow upright portion of it being

placed over a single column, to which it only formed a secondary and unmeaning capital,—an unnecessary interruption between that column and the member of the building, whatever it might be, which would naturally have rested upon it. Sometimes, through the insignificance of this “entablature-strip,”—so to call it,—single columns were, as in the plate of Mr. Willis already referred to, brought into virtual juxtaposition with enormous vaults, of which they came to form, in that gentleman’s language, the sole decorative supports; and when this was the case, the taper elegance of their Grecian outline, adapted as it was to their appearance in rows in the immediate neighbourhood of each other, at once betrayed to the scientific eye their real inadequacy to the tasks in appearance assigned to them. “Mechanical construction,” then, was throughout the reign of Roman architecture based upon one principle, and “decorative construction” upon another,—the one was Etrurian, the other was Greek,—the one depended on the resistance to lateral, the other on the support of vertical, pressure. There was no Roman system at unity in itself; the architects of the imperial city, as far at least as principles were concerned, were imitators, and did not originate.

And of these imitators the Romanesque architects became imitators again in their turn. For we do not trace in their works, any more than in those of their masters, the appearance of any new principle of decorative construction. The main distinctions between their style, and that which preceded it, are referable to the peculiar circumstances of their position. The heaviness, or, as we might call it, the clumsy solidity of their buildings, is a characteristic not so much chosen by them as forced upon them by the rude state of constructive science in their age and countries. The difference between their capitals and those of classic shrines we may suppose to have been in like manner the result of necessity and not of taste. The Ionic volute and the Corinthian acanthus are frequently traceable above the Romanesque column, though, when this is the case, the want of boldness and relief in their execution renders their general effect very different from that of their prototypes. And the massy proportion given by Romanesque artists to the column itself, was only an accommodation of the character of that feature to its use, when it had been made the great supporter of the arch; an accommodation which their acquaintance with Greece had prevented the Romans themselves from aiming at; but which was almost forced upon the first architects who undertook to imitate them in regions where a natural fitness in the classic proportions was less habitually recognized, and where models of Grecian taste were less constantly before the public eye. The compound doorway,—a

striking feature in Romanesque work,—was also the natural, or rather necessary, growth of circumstances. The ancient doorways, in climates where the free admission of air, as well as of light, through their apertures, was desirable, were of enormous size. The opening of that of the Pantheon is stated by Dr. Moller to be thirty-six feet in height. But such an opening, in the more chilly regions of the North, would have been inadmissible; the use of glazed windows, too, obviated the necessity of considering the door as a passage for light. And yet the common principles of natural taste required that the external appearance of this feature should in some degree correspond with the general character of the Church. And the simple,—we might almost say the only,—way of reconciling this difficulty, consisted in the placing a small real doorway within—and, if the expression may be allowed, concentrically with—a larger apparent one, and then connecting the two with each other by intermediate arches or other ornaments: in the formation, in other words, of a compound doorway.

We by no means wish, in speaking of the Romanesque artists as imitators, to deny to them the merit either of striking out many beautiful inventions of detail, or of giving, by the happy application and combination of these inventions, a certain distinctive character to the buildings which they reared. Though we suspect that the peculiar aspect which the Romanesque bears in our eyes, in great measure depends upon the circumstance that we look backwards to it through the ages occupied by the Gothic; a style with which we are thus predisposed to regard it as connected. But were we, ignorant of Gothic, to look forwards, as it were, to the Romanesque from its Roman prototypes, we should probably see in it much more clearly than we now do the type of an epoch in which Italian art was, though in a degenerated state, exclusively dominant over the yet uninventive North.

But during the twelfth century the symptoms of a great architectural revolution began to show themselves in North-Western Europe. After the lapse of many ages, an originative period in the constructive art once more approached. Various changes were introduced, which, though at the time they may have seemed matters of detail, now that we can look back on them in one collective view, are clearly seen to have been the various partial developments of one grand and self-consistent system; to have been, in Mr. Whewell's language, "the natural manifestations of a new character impressed upon art." "An idea, or internal principle of harmony," was stamped upon "these newer works, clear and single, like that which had pervaded the buildings of antiquity:" though that idea, that principle, was

in direct opposition to the prevailing sentiment of classical art, "the characteristic forms of the one being horizontal, reposing, definite; of the other vertical, aspiring, indefinite." The column having lost, in its extension into a shaft, all trace of the proportions of its Grecian prototype, was prolonged, as it were infinitely, in an upward direction,—no heavy mass of cornice stopped its ascent,—and the line which formed its continuation, arriving at the roof, and there extending into ribs or tracery, seemed, in meeting other similar lines in the very apex of the vault, rather to vanish from the sight than to terminate within the observer's ken. The arch, receiving the pointed form, became no longer a path from one point to another in the same horizontal line; but resolved itself into two continuations of the perpendicular lines below the imposts, and led the eye upward to the point of their mutual disappearance in each other. Thus was established the universality of the principle that the upright support column or shaft should bear nothing but weights vertically imposed on it; while the lateral pressure of such parts of the building as exerted it was encountered by a new ornamental support—the buttress—a support as expressly calculated for resisting that pressure, as had been the column for its peculiar office. The "mechanical" and the "decorative" construction were once more in harmony with each other, and in the Gothic the world beheld—what had not been seen since the days of early Greece—an architectural system perfect in itself, and freed from the jarring operation of inconsistent and contending principles.

"It would hardly be too fanciful," says Mr. Whewell, "to consider the newer religious architecture as bearing the impress of its Christian birth, and exhibiting in the leading lines of its members, and the aspiring summits of its edifices, forms 'whose silent finger points to heaven.' And this idea becomes more striking still when we compare our religious buildings with the graceful but low and level outline of the temples of heathen antiquity, whose favourite purpose seems to be to spread along and beautify the earth, which their worshippers deified. We may thus, with the poet's as well as the artist's pleasure, image to ourselves

‘The bulk
Of ancient minster lifted o’er the cloud
Of the dense air which town or city breeds,
To intercept the sun’s glad beams;’

and leaving far below it the pillared front and long entablature of the Grecian portico; while the buttressed clerestory, with its spiry pinnacles and woven tracery, hangs over the altar and the sanctuary, like a coronal upheld by the stony arms which the Christian architects learnt to make powerful and obedient for this purpose."—pp. 111, 112.

The turning point, or crisis, of the revolution thus progressively accomplished, has been frequently identified with the epoch of the introduction of the pointed arch—one of the most striking, and therefore most familiar, features of the style which now came into vogue. Following up this train of thought, many writers upon the style in question have thought it necessary to advance some plausible theory for the purpose of accounting for the application of this beautiful form; and having so done, have conceived that they have satisfactorily explained the origin of the style itself. Mr. Whewell enters too fully into the spirit of Gothic art to fall into this latter error. He feels, with truth, that the pointed arch formed but one feature in Gothic composition, and that others—he names, as an instance, the flying buttress—are quite as distinctive and peculiar to it. But the clearness of his insight into the mechanical principles of construction, has led him highly to appreciate one advantage offered by the pointed arch to our early architects; the facility, namely, with which it enabled them to raise, from the same plane of base, arches equal to each other in height, though differing in span; to bring, in the cross-vaulted compartments of cathedral roofs, the summits of the narrow transverse vaults which terminate in the clerestory wall, to the level of those of the broader longitudinal vaults which extend in succession along the nave and choir. And he has, it must be confessed, somewhat too hastily jumped from this fact to the conclusion, that the desire of obtaining this facility *must* have been the cause which brought the pointed arch into general adoption. But this sweeping deduction has been demurred to alike by a German writer, Dr. Boisserée, and by Mr. Willis. The latter gentleman shows that other methods of accomplishing the above end were known and practised previously to the adoption of that pointed form, which Mr. Whewell had appeared to adduce as the only mode within the scope of early art, by which that end could be attained. And the extreme candour with which, in the preface to his new edition, Mr. Whewell virtually admits that he had gone too far, affords a most cheering indication of the fair, and, as we had almost said, high principled, tone in which controversies on the subject before us are likely to be carried on, when gentlemen of the station and mental calibre of those of whom we speak devote their talents to such inquiries. Nor can it be denied that, though Mr. Whewell's hypothesis may not account for every thing, it may account for much. We can scarcely doubt that a desire to obtain the facility which he describes was one of the many concurring causes which settled and consolidated the general dominion of the Gothic style. Among others of the same kind, one suggested by Dr. Moller appears to

us to possess great importance. The liability to heavy falls of snow could hardly fail, he says, to teach northern architects the necessity, still felt and acted upon throughout our Boreal climates, of raising and rendering acute, to a degree unknown in the common architecture of the south, the angle of the roof. The comparatively flat and invisible covering of the Romanesque Church would therefore in time be naturally succeeded by a long lofty line, such as that which gives a feature to most of our English Cathedrals. The gable, wherever it appeared, would become proportionally acute, giving a new tone to the façades with which it was connected, and requiring, for uniformity's sake, the adoption of pointed lines, parallel to its own, in the portals, windows, and other parts of the building. And as the invisible, or low pyramidal caps of square towers would become, on the same principle, acute pyramids or spires, we are led to recognise in that principle a modifying cause of most potent influence, a cause which, independently of the adoption of the pointed arch, must have compelled the introduction of features with which that form of arch was the only one which could have maintained an architectural harmony. Dr. Moller, while maintaining it as a general rule, that, in the invention of a style, it is the great and necessary features of buildings which lead the way, and which impress their character on the minor and subordinate, attempts to illustrate this rule, by showing that the roofs and gables were, in fact, on the introduction of the Gothic into Germany, the first to assume its peculiar characteristics; the forms of arches, windows, &c. being subsequently modified, and the ornaments of detail being the last to harmonize with the change. And if the dates assigned by him to the buildings to which he appeals be correct, he certainly succeeds in the attempt. But it would, as we have already intimated, betray a very imperfect appreciation of the great architectural revolution which introduced the Gothic, were we to regard it as exclusively dependant on the adoption of this or that individual form or ornament.

Abandoning, however, this fertile field of discussion, we proceed to trace the progress and successive developments of the Gothic style in England and in Germany. In our own land, Mr. Rickman, as is well known, has distinguished the three modes which followed one another by the names "Early English," "Decorated," and "Perpendicular," the first being, in fact, the incipient, the second the perfect, and the third the degenerating, Gothic of England. The Early English, according to Mr. Rickman, prevailed from 1189 to about 1307; its architecture was pointed throughout, its long narrow windows were headed by what is called the lancet arch, and were without mullions or

tracery, but often arranged in groups by twos, by threes, by fives, or by sevens; the piers of its interior arches maintained the circular character common to those of the Romanesque Churches, but were set round with four or more slender shafts, and its general character was that of severe and simple majesty. Of this style, our most striking specimens are Salisbury Cathedral (A. D. 1220), and Westminster Abbey (A. D. 1245); the polygonal east apse of the latter building, with the parts of the choir adjacent to it, may be said, perhaps, to exhibit the Early English in its fullest perfection.*

The "Decorated" style, it would appear, prevailed from 1307 to 1377. It was distinguished from its predecessor by its greater abundance of ornament, by its large windows adorned with geometrical or flowing tracery by, its buttresses more varied in character and finished with pinnacles, by its thickly clustered shafts incorporated into quadrangular and diagonally placed piers, by the greater breadth of its interiors, by the increased importance of its clerestories, and by the more elaborate groining of its roofs. Our most beautiful example of this style on a large scale is, perhaps, to be found in the nave and western elevation (exclusive of the towers) of York Minster. The chapter-house of the same cathedral, and the nave of Exeter are also rich specimens of it.

The "Perpendicular" style, which flourished from the latter of the above dates to the downfall of Gothic originative art, was distinguished in its turn from the decorated, by the predominance of the perpendicular line in the tracery of its windows, by the well known Tudor arch, and by its tendency to a richness of ornament approaching to profusion. A good type of this last style is to be found in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. The appellations thus assigned to the different styles by Mr. Rickman have been criticised; but it should, as Mr. Whewell remarks, be understood that they are intended to distinguish each style, not generally, but from the style preceding it. Nor have any names more generally descriptive been suggested to replace them. Mr. Rickman's dates are chosen as coinciding with the terminations of particular reigns; and are of course but meant as approximations. In reality, the succeeding epochs of art were not divided, as though by a line, from each other; two consecutive ones would, if the expression may be allowed, overlap each other; and the oldest specimen of the newer style would be prior in date to the most recent of the older. The first building in which Gothic principles appear to have fairly predominated in

* Though its effect, as a composition, is to our eyes much injured by the straight horizontal line which crowns the altar screen.

England, was Canterbury Cathedral, of which the choir, with its appendages, Trinity Chapel and Becket's Crown, was constructed by William of Sens, and his successor, William the Englishman, between 1175 and 1184. The Temple Church, also Gothic in its prevailing character, though Romanesque in some of its details, was consecrated by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185. And from these, in a few years, the Early English seems to have developed itself in its purity.

In other countries, as well as in our own, it now appears that three principal stages in the history of Gothic are to be traced—the early, the perfect, and the degenerating stage. Starting from the same point, the Romanesque, the various nations of north-western Europe seem to have proceeded, each as it were on its own way, in the discovery of the principles of the style. But the fact is striking, that in the second stage they all reached the same goal. The perfect or decorated Gothic is to be seen—varied only in unimportant points of detail—alike at York and Exeter, at Cologne and Oppenheim, and at the beautiful church of St. Ouen at Rouen, though its reign in France would seem to have left less distinct traces than elsewhere. But this point of union had not been long reached before the style of each country began to decline in its own way, each abounding in specimens of an after-Gothic peculiar to itself, which continued in use until the great changes of the sixteenth century.

Mr. Whewell would designate, by the term “early German,” a style which he considers as having prevailed in Germany, or in some parts of that country, from the first partial appearance of the Gothic principles, to the development and universal establishment of the Decorated; and to which he refers all gradations between the “just-wavering Romanesque of Mentz and Worms”—the latter of which cathedrals was consecrated in 1016, fifty years before our conquest—and “the multiplied, but not quite Gothic elements of Limburg and Gelnhausen;” the former of which churches Dr. Moller considers to bear date between 1190 and 1210, while the latter he assigns, more vaguely, to the first half of the thirteenth century. It was during this half-century that the Gothic, as we shall soon see, advanced, on the Rhine, to the highest point of its perfection. But in Germany, a country, the different districts of which were more independent of each other than those of England, the overlapping, already alluded to, of epochs of art, was probably more considerable than with us. And the connections with Italy of the Hohenstaufen sovereigns—Frederic Barbarossa and his family—of whom Gelnhausen was the favoured residence—might have operated in retarding the full

recognition, in that city, of the architectural principles of the North.

During the prevalence of this early style, the angle of the gables, and of the pediments of towers, underwent the change of form already alluded to, and became acute; the low semi-circular and semi-domical apse in which the Romanesque buildings of Germany had generally terminated, was transformed into an apse of polygonal form, of the same, or nearly the same, height with the rest of the interior—the round-headed window, previously universal, was sometimes replaced by a pointed one, sometimes by a window of fan-shaped form, peculiar, as we believe, to German architecture;—the “pilaster-strip,” as Mr. Whewell calls it, by which the Romanesque wall was externally strengthened, made way for the buttress—and the triforium began to assume its importance as a great feature of the interior, being made, indeed, in some parts of Germany, to form a roomy gallery, extending round the Church like a second story of the side aisles, under the name of the “Maunhaus” or “Männerchor.”

Our acquaintance with the features of Rhenish scenery has made us familiar with the general form of churches of this description; churches which, rising as they do, at Bonn, at Andernach, at Bacharach, amid

“Hills all rich with blossomed trees,
And fields which promise corn and wine;
And clustered cities crowning these,
Whose far white walls along them shine,”

give a peculiarly foreign character to the scenery with which they are connected. But this foreign character is mainly dependent upon the fact, that they are not recognized by the observer as Gothic; a style to which, indeed, we cannot admit them properly to belong. Anticipating that style in details, they do not admit, as Early English does, the exclusive predominance of its principles. And as they exhibit, when compared with each other, many successive gradations of style from the successive introduction of different features during the long period to which they collectively belong; so that they do not, in truth, form a class thoroughly consistent with itself; we should prefer to designate their architecture by the term, also used by Mr. Whewell, of “Transition Style,” and to take for our “Early German” the first form assumed by “Complete Gothic,” or Gothic based on its own principles, in Germany.

And this we believe—long and regular as were the approaches which the Germans had thus made to it—did not appear with them sooner than with us. Dr. Moller gives, in the cloisters of

Aschaffenburg, of which the arches are triply, or trefoiled, circular, a specimen of the style immediately preceding the "Spitzbogen," pointed arch, or complete Gothic style; ascribing them at the same time to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Therefore, as Cologne Cathedral, that most splendid example of the Decorated, was commenced as early as 1248—only three years after our own Early English Westminster Abbey—it might well seem as though the Complete Gothic had in Germany developed itself at once in the stage of manhood, passing over that of youth. But we are inclined to think that this was not the case. From the plates given by Dr. Moller of the Church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, we think that we recognize, in that building, a type of the true "Early German." It was named after the canonized widow of a Thuringian Landgrave, who died in 1231, and its first stone was laid in 1235. Its arches are pointed throughout—its windows, except in the west front, which is irregular, are composed of two lancet-arched lights surmounted by a circle, and exhibit a striking resemblance to those of Westminster Abbey; its piers, which are very lofty, the side aisles being as high as the nave, exhibit the circular column surrounded by four taper shafts; and its general effect would seem to be severe and simple. It appears to us to possess neither the distinctive features of the Decorated, nor the richness of tone by which that phase of the Gothic, as a whole, is characterized. We would, therefore, look upon it as the analogue in style of its contemporary Salisbury—as an example of pure Gothic in its first German stage. And we would suggest, as a point of much interest to our German tourists, the inquiry whether it be possible to trace, to any extent, the existence of such a distinct style in the architecture of the Rhine, and of its neighbouring rivers.

Whatever its prevalence, it must have been a short-lived one. The ideas developed in the grand design of Cologne soon bore down all before them; and in 1276 the west front of Strasburg was raised to a height, as has been already intimated, unequalled in the annals of architecture, and embellished with a richness of decoration almost as unparalleled: the whole of the vast façade being covered with what Mr. Whewell calls "double planes of tracery; that is, two tracery windows or frames, one behind another, in the same opening."

"This extravagance (for it almost deserves to be so called) appears in the towers at Cologne; at Strasburg it is carried to such an extent in the west front, that the building looks as if it were placed behind a rich open screen, or in a cage of woven stone. The effect of this construction is very gorgeous, but with a sacrifice of distinctness from the multiplicity and intersections of the lines."—p. 114.

The Germans thus unquestionably preceded our countrymen in their adoption of the Gothic in its perfect kind. The Presbytery of Lincoln, which, though in some respects an approach toward the Decorated, "retains much of the Early English in its character," is of 1282. "The Chapter-House of York and the nave of Exeter come in later, between 1291 and 1330; the Chapter-House of Wells between 1293 and 1302." Oppenheim, of which the nave is a beautiful specimen of what we may call the later richness of the decorated style, "was built between 1262 and 1317," while the nave of York, which in some degree corresponds to it, "is said to be after 1320." Of this difference Mr. Whewell appears to us to propose a satisfactory explanation, when he suggests that the extreme beauty of our introductory style—the Early English—may have induced our architects to dwell upon it, instead of hastily abandoning it, for the splendours of its successor. But we fear that, in the full comprehension of the principles of perfect Gothic, the Germans must be admitted to have been always the superiors of our countrymen. Our Cathedrals—with the exception of the Early English fabric of Salisbury—are not unities, but put together piecemeal. And even their more striking parts, when considered by themselves, generally betray an imperfect conception, on the part of their framers, of the principles on which they laboured. The beautiful nave, for instance, of York, is covered by a roof so flat as in no respect to correspond externally with the upright character of the structure; a roof, of which the low western gable hurts the eye, by its want of symmetry with the acuter angles of the window, portal, &c. beneath it. The spire, too, of our island is generally a vast obelisk placed upon a tower which exhibits no apparent reference to it, and to which it was, for the most part, appended by an afterthought; while the spire of Germany is an integral part of the building—the expansive development of a principle exemplified throughout the whole—so that the removal of this feature, where it exists, would leave the English Church harmonious in itself, while it would render the German a truncated monster. When entire, therefore, the German fabric is, for this very reason, the more perfect of the two. And this unity of design has permitted the architects of that country to adopt a boldness of decoration unattempted among us. The ornaments of Strasburg, Freyburg, &c. are *features* of those beautiful spires, and, whenever the spires themselves are distinctly seen, modify their outline. But the ornaments of Salisbury are *appendages*; and a stranger who contemplates the cathedral from a moderate distance, may be unconscious of their existence.*

* A beautiful exception to these remarks is to be found in the spire of St. Mary's,

The great east window, again, prevalent as it is in England, seems to have been a feature generally rejected by the taste of German artists; and we confess, beautiful as is such a window as that of Carlisle, considered in itself, we are inclined to acquiesce in the justice of their decision. Next to height, the predominating impression conveyed by Gothic should be that of length—the “long-drawn aisle and fretted vault” leading the eye, by the repetition of their narrow compartments, ever onwards from the entrance to the altar. But here this tendency should cease; the eye should be led *to* the eastern part of the church, but not *out of it*. And yet the great window either produces this latter effect, or else, in the brilliancy of its stained compartments, presents in itself the great feature of the east end; thus overthrowing the legitimate supremacy of the altar, with which it cannot, as a secondary ornament, harmonize or combine. But we return to our historic survey.

The decline of Gothic art into its third stage seems to have taken place in Germany about the same time as in England. Of Ulm Minster, which was begun in 1377—the very year named by Mr. Rickman, as his turning point from the Decorated to the Perpendicular,—Dr. Moller remarks, that “its construction no longer exhibits the strict regularity of forms which characterizes the Cathedral of Cologne, the lower portion of Strasburg, or the Minster of Freyburg. The ornaments are often arbitrarily contorted, and made too closely to assimilate in character to the productions of the vegetable world.” The composition, nevertheless, of the masses, he admits, in this instance, to be of extreme beauty. The spire was never completed—only 237 feet being accomplished of the intended 491. But from Dr. Moller’s plate of the design, we learn that the flowery character of the building would have become more complete as it approached its summit, which was to have been encircled with garland above garland, till it terminated in the statue of the Virgin with her Child. The spires, indeed, of this date, seem generally to have been undertaken on too large a scale to admit of their completion. The designs, however, have in many cases been preserved; and from these it would appear that superabundance of ornament, especially of the flowery kind, was one main characteristic of German architecture in that stage which corresponded to the Tudor, or perpendicular, style of England, and to that French after-Gothic style, which, from the waving or flame-like lines of its tracery, has received from the antiquaries of France the appellation “Flamboyant,” of which the only English specimen with which

Oxford, which is one composition throughout, and from which no portion could be removed without visibly mutilating the whole.

we are acquainted is a window of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, at Oxford. But "the separation," says Mr. Whewell, "of the pure Gothic from the styles into which it degenerated, requires a particular study, and a scrupulous discrimination, which it has not been my purpose at present to exercise."—p. 115.

With the sixteenth century,—that convulsive period which shattered the whole fabric, and new-moulded the whole moral constitution of society,—the last vestiges of Gothic origination disappeared. Classical art, returning in the train of classical literature to her ancient throne in the South, reduced the genius of Northern taste into complete subjection to her sceptre. We need not, therefore, on the present occasion, proceed further with the history of the architecture of Germany. In our own land, this great revolution was succeeded by a period of struggle,—a period during which it was attempted to amalgamate classic forms and Gothic principles,—a period which produced the schools' tower at Oxford, and the fantastic monuments of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots in Westminster Abbey. But this period was soon succeeded by the exclusively classical era of Inigo Jones and Wren; and when, in the time of the latter architect, a new Cathedral was required for London, it rose to emulate, not the spire of Strasburg, but the dome of the Vatican.

Within these few years the exclusive sway thus assumed by classic art has been in some degree disturbed, and it has become the fashion, in planning Churches, to look sometimes to a Gothic, instead of an Italian, model. But we have been copyists in the one case as well as in the other. Severed by an interval, which to our common ideas seems long, from the originative period of the Northern style, that style has become to us, as it were, a newly discovered field of antiquity,—a field to which, as to the antiquity of the South, we might go for the purpose of measuring proportions, copying ornaments, and extracting specific rules for our undeviating guidance. But our study of its beauties has been like that of a dead language,—the study of a thing complete and ended in itself, and not to be augmented or modified by any exertions of our own. We have been the followers, but must not as yet flatter ourselves with the notion that we have been the successors, of the Gothic architects of yore.

We live, in short, in imitative times: and to those whose lot is thus cast, few mental tasks can be conceived more difficult than the attempt to throw themselves in spirit into the place of those who were in circumstances to originate,—into times in which architecture was not merely a thing of fancy, so that twenty edifices in twenty different styles might be seen in process

of erection at one time and place,—but when the one single style of which the age and country allowed was the embodying of a deep and beautiful feeling pervading the community. To accomplish this task with respect to ancient Greece, we should have,—forgetting all things which render the vision impossible,—to dream into a sort of reality the exquisite imagery which floated before the eyes of a poetical deifier of nature amid some of her loveliest scenes, beneath the warm suns and bright skies of Greece,—to animate her harmonies by resuscitating the nymphs of the wood, the mountain, and the stream,—to listen in the breeze which curled the blue Ægean for the voice of the zephyr, hailing the oar-blade which plashed in its sparkling waters, as—

Ἑκατόμποδων Νηρηδων ἀκόλουθος,

and then to temper the softness engendered by these contemplations by the impress of that stern dignity, the essential characteristic of republican Greece, which forbade her citizens, even in the Persian court, to bow down before the imposing presence of its barbaric master. Could we feel all this,—could we thus tune our bosoms, if the expression may be allowed, in unison with antiquity, we might enter in a way which, as it is, we never can do, into the spirit of its architecture. We could then experience,—what till then we can only imagine,—the feeling which originated the Parthenon,—which bade it and its sister fanes harmonize in their long horizontal lines with the line predominant in landscape; in the symmetry and delicacy of their adornments with the loveliness of the scenery around them; and in the dignified simplicity of their leading forms and outlines with the national character of Greece in a state of ideal perfection.

The task of mentally identifying ourselves with our own Gothic ancestors,—with those of the same speech, and dwelling, and blood, and faith, with ourselves, might have been imagined less difficult. Yet the fact seems otherwise; between our days and those of Gothic cathedrals, as wide a gulf appears in practice to exist as that which divides us from the more remote ages of classic antiquity. Not one single name, as connected with those venerable piles, has become familiar in our mouths as that of a benefactor of our race. We look upon the lofty fabrics which dignify our cities, as though they were so many natural curiosities,—features in the scenery of our island, like its mountains or its rivers. We know that they have stood where they stand during the whole period familiar to our historic recollections; and we conceive of them as though they were incapable of addition to their number by any efforts of our own. We admire, and—now that our attention has been called to the subject—duller, indeed, should we be “than the fat weed that rots itself at ease on

Lethe's wharf,"—if we did not admire,—the majestic loftiness, the religious solemnity, the magical lightness, of the different portions of these edifices; but even while we do so, a sentiment of wonder arises in our minds, and we are tempted to ask ourselves the question "Why was all this done?" A question to which the utilitarian,—calling, and thinking himself, liberal,—answers by suggesting that the Churchmen of old wished to display their power, to increase their hold over the imagination of the people, or to give employment to a population of ignorant serfs. While the professor of the fashionable theology of our "religious world,"—of the school which has obtained what it calls its "clear views" of the doctrines of the Gospel, by putting one-half of those doctrines out of its sight, and by rationalizing, as far as it may, the remainder,—suggests that in those times people universally thought that they could buy heaven with the positive merit of their good works, and that cathedrals were esteemed as massy makeweights in the celestial scale. The first of these classes, therefore, enters our Gothic fanes to sneer at the hypocrisy of their builders, the latter to condemn their unevangelical superstition.

With the utilitarian we have here nothing to do—he will not deign to turn over these pages—nor need we to our readers expose the absurdity of the supposition that hypocrisy could for any long period exist substantively and alone, instead of being, as it ever is, the shadow and imitator of a deep religious feeling,—a shadow which "proves the substance true." But to the religionist of the class alluded to* we would remark, that after the manner in which it has recently been brought under our notice, that Popery, as it now is, cannot be dated back further than the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, it is rather hasty universally to ascribe to our fathers of the thirteenth and fourteenth the fulness of its errors. And when even Popery, as it is—as officially represented in that ill-omened council—begins her dogmas on Justification by the following canon,

"If any shall say that a man can be justified before God by his own works, which he can do by the power of human nature, or by the teaching of the law, without divine grace through Jesus Christ; let him be accursed"†—

* Who is, as we would incidentally observe, by no means an unexceptionable witness on the point, he having a direct interest in the case, by which his judgment will necessarily be biassed; for unless he can prove the sentiment which inspired the Church-building labours of our ancestors to have been a wrong one, he proclaims his own system, which elicits no such sentiment, to be a defective one,—and then what becomes of the boasted clearness of his views?

† We borrow the translation of Mr. A. Perceval, to the result of whose researches it is that, in the sentence above, we mainly allude.

—it is surely going rather too far to assert, without inquiry, of those who reared our national temples ages before that council met, that they were all influenced by the wild notion of purchasing heaven by merits of their own. Had, indeed, their leading motive been traceable to any of the then incipient corruptions of doctrine which the Tridentine assembly has subsequently incorporated into the religion of Rome, the full development of that corruption would necessarily have led to effects on a grander scale than had resulted from the era of its infancy; and we should have seen the architectural trophies of the middle ages eclipsed in magnificence by the subsequent productions of Romish Europe. But such has confessedly not been the case; the vast cathedrals of the continent, as of England, almost exclusively belong to the ante-Tridentine epoch; and we are therefore driven to look, for the moral causes of their existence, to principles to which the full development of Romish error has been as hostile as the violence of the Reformation, and the rudeness of its spurious off-spring, the spirit of ultra-Protestantism, have unhappily proved among ourselves.

And if so—if our fashionable religionist be thus erroneous in his view of this subject—we will not say how unjustifiable, but how unfortunate for himself is his mistake. By the mechanism of our moral constitution, our Maker has annexed happiness to the exercise of those feelings of which he approves; and those impulses which lead us to honour our parents, guides, superiors, and instructors, he has peculiarly connected with pleasurable emotion. “Honour thy father” is the first commandment with promise. Of what happiness, then, must he habitually deprive himself, who, through an unfounded notion, can enter our cathedrals without reverence for those who reared them? who can worship in the fanes of his fathers without one pious thought of gratitude for their labours—who can look upon their time-honoured monuments without feeling that they cover the remains of his benefactors—and who can gaze on the wonders of their art—the lofty aisle, the gorgeous screen, and the storied window—without reading in them the impress of any higher principle than a worldly priestcraft or a grovelling superstition?

To enter into the feelings from which our Gothic temples in truth arose, it would, we believe, be necessary rather to free the mind from the influence of modern errors than to recur to those of more ancient date. We would institute no general comparison between the middle ages and our own; still less would we palliate the grossness of those delusions which notoriously disgraced the former period. We are not entering into these points, when we express our conviction that there existed in those early times

a depth, a beauty of devotional feeling, an anxiety to honour our Maker and his Church with the best gifts of man's hands, and the highest resources of his knowledge, which those cannot comprehend who are wont to regard that Church, and her branch existing in our island, as a mere human institution,—to look upon her Bishops as possessing no higher authority than the temporal legislature can confer,—to rationalize away the mysterious doctrine of her sacraments,—and to esteem as a light thing that traffic in her offices which, legal as earthly authority chooses to pronounce it, our reformers have admitted to be “a detestable sin,” and “execrable before God.”*

Could we bring ourselves to forget, for one happy moment, our familiarity with these degrading errors of our day, we could perhaps catch some sparks of that fire which, glowing in the breasts of the Eastern Magi of old, led them to lay their “richest, sweetest, purest” offerings before the cradle of their infant king; of that fire by which she was animated who poured upon the Saviour's head the “very precious ointment of spikenard” in seeming waste. We could then feel our connexion with those primitive Christians who would embrace and kiss, in sign of love, the doors and pillars of their churches; and identify ourselves in spirit with those, their legitimate descendants, whose reverential devotion has fixed, as it were, and embodied itself in the awe-inspiring masses of our abbeys and our cathedrals.

“The Church,” said our ancestors,—for we are now using their own words,—“differing in nothing, as far as material is concerned, from private dwellings, becomes, by the invisible effect of dedication, the temple of the Lord.” (*Concil. London. A.D. 1268 ap. Hard. tom. vii. p. 617*); and they delighted to show their love for the beauty of the house of God. (*Synod. Wigorn. A.D. 1240.*) They remembered the example of the Saviour who had cast the buyers and sellers out of the Jewish temple, (*ib.*) and they felt that the scene of the anticipatory offerings of Judaism was less holy than that of the “great commemorative sacrifice”† of Christianity. (*Concil. London. A.D. 1237.*)

As, therefore, Solomon had dedicated for the services of his inferior fabric his vessels of the purest gold (*Concil. Oxon. A.D. 1222*), they forbid that the holy wine of the Eucharist should be consecrated in any chalice of meaner substance than gold or

* “To avoid the detestable sin of Simony, because buying and selling of spiritual and ecclesiastical functions, offices, promotions, dignities, and livings, is execrable before God,” *vide Constitutions and Canons of 1603, can. 40.* Yet “sale of ecclesiastical patronage” is a frequent heading of advertisements in our newspapers, and we have seen this evil traffic, practised that good might come, extolled as a bright jewel in the crown of the Christian character.

† *Vide* the Bishop of Exeter's admirable Charge.

silver. (*Concil. London. A.D. 1175.*) And the coverings and cloths of the altar were directed to be kept in a condition of especial purity, in reverence, not of earthly congregations, but of the Saviour of the world, who, with His whole heavenly host,—“with angels and archangels, and with all the company of Heaven,”—was felt to be more peculiarly present with the faithful during the celebration of the most awful rite of Christian worship. Vide *Constitutiones Synodicæ Odonis, Episc. Paris. A. D. cir. 1198, ap. Hard. tom. vi. pt. 2.*

“Shall we,” said our reformers, treading in this respect in the footsteps of their ancestors, “shall we be so mindful of our common base houses, deputed to so low occupying, and be forgetful toward that house of God, wherein be ministered the words of our eternal salvation, wherein be intreated the sacraments and mysteries of our redemption? The fountain of our regeneration is there presented unto us, the partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ is there offered unto us; and shall we not esteem the place where so heavenly things are handled?”*

Impressed by sentiments like these, our fathers would feel, that in constructing edifices for the celebration of these solemn rites they were labouring for God and not for man. They would lavish upon them the resources of architectural invention, not for the purpose of attracting human admiration, not even, as a main end, for that of affecting and exalting to religious reverence the minds of beholders, but from an innate sense of the fitness of thus honouring the great Being to whom religious reverence is due. From the overflowings, so to say, of a spirit delighting to do Him service, they would dignify the character of their churches, and beautify their details. The same spirit, acting upon the general habits of the time, would naturally lead them to seek for, and to trace, analogies and parallels between the features of their visible work, and the invisible system with which it was connected. And thus it was. In the cruciform shape of the cathedral they saw, as in figure, the body of the Redeemer extended on the cross; and the choir, which in some Gothic fanes deviates, with evident design, from the line of the nave, is said to have been thus deflected to image forth the sacred head which it represented bending toward one side in faintness and suffering. Nor may we doubt that analogies as mysterious, but based on better foundation, sometimes visited the thoughts of holy men among them. Students of early Christian literature, they could scarce fail to catch the primitive sentiment which regarded all things around the believer as existing “in two worlds: in the world of sense, according to its outward nature and relations; in the world intel-

* Vide Homily & r repairing and keeping clean of Churches.

lectual, according to its spiritual associations :”* or to feel that “the sensible things which religion hath hallowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually understood, whereunto they serve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct.”† And recollecting that the material details of the tabernacle had had unearthly antitypes and correspondences, it having been made by Moses “after the pattern showed him in the Mount,” they would conceive it probable that the ideas of majesty embodied in the fabric of a Christian church, were also susceptible of loftier developments—of realizations at present incomprehensible to man; and that in gazing even upon the work of their own hands, they were catching—in some unknown way—

“Dread shadows of th’ Eternal Throne,
The fount of life, and Altar-stone,
Pavement, and them that tread thereon,
And those who worship nigh.”‡

We know, alas ! the degrading errors, the wild superstitions, with which these high feelings would in most minds, in the time of which we treat, be blended. We are aware of the childish legends which credulity and imposture then combined to render current. Many, however, of these latter, absurd as they naturally appear to us, were not of a character necessarily to degrade the religious feeling of those who believed in them; except, indeed, inasmuch as they fostered and encouraged that imperfect view of our Christian position, that defective perception of the truth, “the just shall live by faith,” which ever yearns for sensible indications of our connexion with the unseen; which, as it once delighted in fabulous miracles, and apparitions of saints departed, now craves palpable indications of regeneration, and supernatural applications, in trying moments, of particular texts to the soul.§

We remember, too, the more formidable delusions which, throughout the Gothic epoch, were tending to obscure the great articles of the faith themselves; but with none of these was the reverential feeling above described necessarily connected. If men revered the visible church and altar, it does not, as a matter of course, follow that they did so because they disgraced the one with unmeaning, and sometimes irreverent, mummary,||

* *Vide* Keble’s Preface to Hooker, p. lxxxix.

† Dionys. quoted by Hooker, vol. i. p. 532. Ed. Keble.

‡ *Lyra Apostolica*, No. liv.

§ Passages similar to the following, which is a quotation, will readily occur to those conversant with the fashionable theology of our day. “I was musing in my secret chamber, when these words seemed to come with an Almighty power to my troubled soul,—‘Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.’—Blessed, blessed assurance !”

|| The ceremony, for instance, of the boy-bishop. However, it is not for those to

and debased the doctrine of that holy mystery to which the other was dedicated, by the figment of transubstantiation. We know that, in those days, altars were sometimes reared, and churches endowed, from motives of arrogance or superstition. We know, too, (who does not ?) that to the hospitals and other charitable institutions of the present day, contributions and bequests are sometimes made from motives of ostentation, hypocrisy, or dependance on man's own merits. But most unfounded, most uncharitable, would be his argument who should thence infer that the main principle to which these later establishments owe their existence was not a benevolent sympathy with the sufferings of others. Nor would his mistake, in our opinion, be one whit more justifiable, who, in the abuses by which the devotional spirit of the founders of our cathedrals was disfigured, should systematically put out of sight that devotional spirit itself. As rationally, as fairly, might he, standing as a stranger before such a temple as that of York, of Ely, or of Lincoln, leave unnoticed the majesty of the mass, the grandeur of the outline, and the sublimity of the towers, to exclaim against the fantastic decorations of the corbels, or the grotesque unseemliness of the gurgyles.*

Admitting then, that we are to regard our northern ecclesiastical architecture as the type and impersonation of a sentiment of devotion, it becomes necessary for us to inquire whether history will point out any cause adequate to account for a great development of religious feeling at the epoch in which the newer style arose to supplant the Romanesque. And we may, perhaps, after what we have said, startle some of our readers by asserting that such a cause appears to us to have existed in the rise, towards the close of the eleventh century, of the papal power. Upon this point, however, we have in a recent Number (No. XXXIX, Art. 4) expressed our opinion. We there endeavoured to show that though the supremacy of the Roman Patriarch was an usurpation;—though to attain it he had trampled on the general rights of the episcopal body, degrading those who were in truth equally Christ's vicars with himself,† into the subordinate position of his own deputies and representatives; and though in wielding it he forgot the reverence due even from the most exalted members of the spiritual hierarchy to the anointed possessors of the temporal sceptre, yet that, having become de facto head

throw stones on the subject of disgracing churches, who are accustomed to convert organ-lofts into orchestras, and choirs into concert-rooms.

* Figures through which water flows off the roof.

† "Bishops," says Jeremy Taylor, "are Christ's vicars not the Pope's delegates . . . they are pastors of the flock and vicars of Christ . . . and therefore it is a strange usurpation that the Pope arrogates that to himself by impropriation, which is common to him with all the Bishops of Christendom;"—*J. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery*, c. 1, s. 10.

of the Western Church, his cause, in the important struggle which established his power, was in great measure her cause also. Gregory the Seventh and the pontiffs of his school, impure as was their own system, warred not against purity of faith, holiness of manners, or the legitimate exercise of monarchical power; but against the continuance of a state of things the most fearful perhaps which Christianity, since the days of the Arian controversy, has had to encounter. The tenth century—that anterior to their appearance—was, says Baronius, “*Sæculum quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopiâ scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum.*” And so gross was the depravity by which the opening of its successor, the eleventh, was disgraced, that divines of the period were led to identify the thousand years of Satan’s mystic bondage with the first millenary of the Christian era; believing from what they saw around them that the spirit of evil was in their days assailing the Church with a power and with a success unknown before. No marvel is it, therefore, that that Church, in extricating herself from her amalgamation with such a state of things, should have arisen defiled with many of its corruptions. She did, however, extricate herself; in opposition to a general system of ecclesiastical secularization, to an universal traffic in holy things, to an all-pervading licentiousness, she taught the world the forgotten truths of her independent existence, of her unity, of her heavenly origin; like her great Exemplar she cast the money-changers out of the Temple; and she compelled the spirit of profligacy to quail before an opposite spirit of ascetic devotion.

In the success, therefore, of the Popes in their great struggle was involved a general, though a temporary, reformation of the western world. Religion, buried as she had been under the monstrous abuses which they overthrew, trimmed for a while her lamp anew; and had the theology which, as representatives of their age they wielded as their weapon against infidelity, been pure, their victory might have realized those prophetic strains of Scripture which speak of the Church’s triumphant reign on earth in the most glowing language of inspiration. But alas! the faith once delivered to the saints had become by their time lamentably corrupted. In fighting the battle of Christianity they incidentally fought that of its corruptions also. Their work, therefore, from the first, was imperfect; and the spirit of holiness which they had evoked swayed but a transient sceptre. The episcopal polity too having been virtually overthrown, the heaven-appointed safeguard of the Church’s purity was withdrawn, and the papal system moved through an aspiring youth and a flourishing

maturity to a speedy and inevitable decline. Its corruptions, spreading with the rapid growth of all things evil, gradually overmastered the good with which they were associated—until at length, at Trent, the papacy was driven to incorporate them into the creed of Christianity, and to separate from its communion all who refused to recognize the unauthorized adulteration.

Reverting to the subject of Gothic architecture, we shall find in its rise, progress, and decline a singular coincidence with the fortunes of the religious development—or, to use a modern and prostituted term, of the *revival*, which we have just described. The struggle between the imperial and papal parties, of which the issue firmly seated the Roman Pontiff on his œcumenical throne, terminated in 1122; by which time the new order of things had been already symbolized in that extraordinary undertaking, the first crusade; an undertaking which, whatever we may think of it in other respects, strikingly illustrated the subserviency of secular to devotional feeling, of the sense of national distinctions to the great principle of catholic unity, which was beginning to manifest itself in Europe. And this event had not long taken place, the generation which had responded to the spirit-stirring appeal of Urban II. on the plains of Clermont had scarce past away from earth, when the same moral phenomenon received a more lasting illustration in the rise of our great northern era of architectural origination; in the abandonment of that imitative path in which the framers of ecclesiastical edifices for ages had trodden, for a style till then unknown—a style embodying lofty ideas of the infinite, and bearing, beyond all others which the world has yet seen, the impress of religious veneration. Gothic architecture, in its first complete phase, became dominant among us.

In as far as the great ecclesiastical revolution above described was a reformation, it was of course progressive in its operation. The great and good principles which it elicited would not at first produce their full results; nor would the corruptions by which those principles were from the first accompanied, spring at once into the disastrous maturity which they were ultimately destined to attain. It would be in a period, therefore, subsequent to the first development of that revolution, that its beneficial influence would attain its maximum. And of such a period, we conceive that history warrants us in believing the second phase of the Gothic to be the monument; a phase, in which that style displayed, as we have seen, its perfect majesty and beauty, while its identity throughout the whole region of the Gothic, taught men to realize that great doctrine, the unity of the Church-catholic in all lands, on the recognition of which the reformation we have spoken of had mainly proceeded. But the moment, unhappily, was

not long deferred in which the corruptions already noticed began to overpower the till then predominant tendencies to do good to which that reformation had given birth. And it was not long—not much longer than the term assigned by the Psalmist as the measure of human existence—that the architecture of the North maintained the high and palmy state of its perfection. Its purity then sensibly declined; and a variety of architectural fashions appeared in the different nations of Europe, in which builders endeavoured to compensate, by an exuberant and sometimes fantastic use of ornament, for a less accurate perception of the true principles of the style in which they laboured. In our own island, heraldic emblems and family cognizances, more profusely introduced than before, showed a growing tendency to connect God's temples with the honour rather of their founders than of His holy name. And massy pendants and other conspicuous mechanical wonders betray, to our eyes, something of an uncatholic wish to remind worshippers, even when assembled in the holy place, of the architectural ability with which the scene of their worship had been prepared for them. And, at length, as the epoch of the Reformation drew nigh, we believe that the high spirit which had animated the Papalists of old was not more completely extinct in their schools, than was among ourselves the genuine, the originative, feeling for the majestic architecture in which that spirit had been embodied.

And extinct it has since continued. But who shall say that the beneficial potency of that feeling ceased with its existence? Who shall limit the effect which may have been produced upon the national mind, during century after century, by the awe-inspiring piles upon which the stamp of that feeling had been lastingly impressed? Who shall say how often the traveller may not have been taught to direct a thought heavenward by the sight of the distant Gothic tower,—how often the inhabitant of a busy town may not have been elevated in soul above its din and traffic by the solemn witness borne by the massive repose of its minster to the awful reality of a world unseen? Or who—to tread on yet more sacred ground—who may dare to number the blessings procured for our country, or the evils averted from it, by the prayers of those who, joining in the daily service of our now neglected choirs, have found their minds attuned to higher strains of devotion by the influence of One addressing them through the visible majesty of His material temple?*

* “ Albeit the true worship of God be to God in itself acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is served; . . . manifest notwithstanding it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place, where God is

It would be well if the annals of more recent times had, with respect to cathedrals, nothing more melancholy to record than the non-addition to their number occasioned by the disappearance of that devotional spirit from which, in other days, our Gothic churches rose. Germany, alas! has to deplore the positive effects of a spirit directly opposed to it. Her rich cathedral and collegiate foundations have become the prey of the spoiler; and, of the trophies of her early art—of the memorials of her early Christianity—many, says Dr. Moller, fall yearly to the ground. Absit omen!—far from us, in our islands, be such a calamity, nearly as we are now threatened with it! Far from us—but upon this point we dare not trust ourselves with our own thoughts; and the single word which we will speak upon the subject, shall be spoken with the voice of Hooker.

“Most certain truth it is, that churches-cathedral, and the bishops of them, are as glasses, wherein the face and very countenance of apostolical antiquity remaineth even as yet to be seen, notwithstanding the alterations which tract of time and the course of the world hath brought. For defence and maintenance of them we are most earnestly bound to strive, even as the Jews were for their temple and the high priest of God therein: the overthrow and ruin of the one, if ever the sacrilegious avarice of atheists should prevail so far, which God of His infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwise to move us than the people of God were moved, when, having beheld the sack and combustion of His sanctuary, in most lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved spirits those voices of doleful supplication: ‘Exsurge Domine et miserearis Sion; servi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miseret eos.’”—*Eccl. Pol. b. vii. c. vii. § 33.*

But we turn from this dreary theme to a more pleasing subject—from the menaced spoliation of old churches to the projected endowment of new ones;—to the noble scheme, in short, for supplying the long-neglected spiritual needs of the metropolis, to which we adverted at the commencement of this article. We should delight in persuading ourselves that the revived taste for the Gothic, to which we have already adverted, in some way symbolized and fore-shadowed a revival of that feeling of munificent devotion by which the former prevalence of the style among us was accompanied. To that feeling we have as good a right as our ancestors; we are members of the same holy Church with them;—nay, we have a better right than they had—for that Church’s faith is in our days reformed and purified from a host of errors which, in their times, darkened and disfigured it. Why may we not then

worshipped, hath *in regard of us* great virtue, force, and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion, and *in that respect*, no doubt, *bettereth* even our holiest and best actions in this kind.”—*Eccl. Polit. b. v. c. xvi. 2.*

be destined, in zeal for the house of God, to tread in their footsteps? Why may not our generation, like generations long past away, leave our cities hallowed by the lasting memorials of its Christian liberality?

Not that we can flatter ourselves with the hope of seeing a new æra of architectural origination arise. The principles elicited in such æras, after all, are discovered, not invented, and it may be impossible, in the nature of things, that a new style should arise among us entitled to supplant, or even to rival, that to which our portion of Europe has already given birth. But the influence of a re-diffusion of our ancestral spirit among us, would, unquestionably, be felt in our fuller perception not only of the individual beauties of our ancient ecclesiastical style, but of the harmonies which those beauties should form by their combination; and church architecture, in our hands—even while continuing imitative in character—would display a purity—a majesty—a self-consistency, in some degree worthy of its glories of old.

We have, perhaps, ventured out of our proper province in assuming, as we seem to have done, that the Gothic will be the style adopted in the temples which it is intended to raise. Our voice would certainly be for it, as for a style tending to recall the associations of other days, and to vouch, as it were, for our English Church's antiquity. This, however, is a question on which it is not for us to dictate. We know how many points must in practice be taken into consideration in matters of this nature; points of which nothing but practice can display the importance.

But whatever be the style adopted, we are confident that those to whom the details of the undertaking are to be entrusted, will—in one respect, at least—carry it on upon the principles of “the olden time.” They will feel, that in erecting the fifty new churches, they are not carrying into effect an insulated plan, or accomplishing an individual object; but that they are, by the work, involved in a great system—a system extending into all lands, and enduring through all ages—the system of the Church-Catholic; and that they may not, even for the sake of more perfectly accomplishing their primary end, introduce into that system a new principle, or modify in any respect its predominant character. They will not be induced, by the most splendid offers of assistance, to compromise the scriptural spirit of our episcopal polity; nor will they—even for the sake of bringing more individuals within the immediate scope of their beneficial labours, consent to barter the decorous majesty ever maintained by the Church in externals for the irreverent baldness of the conventicle. Strenuous as may be their efforts, they will confine them within the broad lines traced out by catholic experience

and apostolical authority. A greater apparent effect will sometimes attend the irregular exertions exclusively adapted to the exigencies of the moment. But the history of the Church through eighteen centuries abundantly testifies that it is to Christian efforts thus regulated, and to those alone, that Heaven has been pleased to affix, in the boon of permanent utility, the seal of its approval.

ART. III.—*The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine Mr. Richard Hooker; with an Account of his Life and Death by Isaac Walton.* A new Edition, with Additions. Arranged by the Rev. John Keble, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Professor of Poetry. In 3 Vols. Vol. III. in 2 Parts. Oxford, at the University Press, 1836.

“METHINKS that I could trip o’er heaviest soil,
 Light as a buoyant bark from wave to wave,
 Were mine the trusty staff that JEWEL gave
 To youthful HOOKER, in familiar style
 The gift exalting, and with playful smile:
 For thus equipp’d, and bearing on his head
 The donor’s farewell blessing, can he dread
 Tempest, or length of way, or weight of toil?
 More sweet than odours caught by him who sails
 Near spicy shores of Araby the blest,
 A thousand times more exquisitely sweet,
 The freight of holy feeling which we meet,
 In thoughtful moments, wafted by the gales

From fields where good men walk, or bowers wherein they rest.”

THIS thoroughly beautiful sonnet, from Wordsworth’s *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, modelled on the anecdote given by “honest Isaac,” seemed to dog our pen and paper till we had transcribed it; and we do not think we have done amiss in giving it to our readers. Certainly the blessing of God Almighty, given with a bishop’s authority by Jewel “to youthful Hooker,” did rest upon his head; and, like the anointing oil, continued, through life, to flow down to the skirts of his clothing! In all his works, begun, continued, and ended in the fear and love of God, the blessing which maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow withal, was conspicuous.

But, independent of this, we had another reason for quoting the sonnet in question, and that is, “the freight of holy feeling which we meet” with in the editor’s Preface. The editing of Hooker could have been scarcely committed to better hands than those of Keble,—the gentleman, the scholar, the man of feeling, the divine;—one who in his Christian Year has gained him a name that “will not perish in the dust;”—a man who lives sermons (to use the phrase of old Fuller) as well as preaches them;—in a word, a man who, in these days of rebuke and blasphemy,

of unsacramental thoughts, and unsaint-like disinclination to *hear the Church*, has lifted up a voice that dares give utterance to holy thoughts in uncompromising language *in the ears of the people that are on the wall*. Indeed, when every window almost is filled with trash for what is called the religious public,—a term now very generally applied to those who think lightly of the sacraments, close in with dissent, hold apostolic ordination of no account, despise the blessing of the priesthood, and run to the conventicle;—at such a time we cannot say how greatly we are rejoiced to find the true sons of the Church standing up for her ordinances, and the treasure committed to her by her Lord and Saviour ere he ascended up to heaven in the eyes of his wondering disciples. And amongst these is Mr. Keble. With him mere lip-service, and display, and broadening of phylacteries, as with Hooker, stands for nothing—*pure religion and undefiled before God the Father* is all in all. Would that this lively faith were more general; but alas!

“Too many, Lord, abuse thy grace
In this licentious day,
And while they boast they see thy face,
They turn their own away.”*

But the object of this article is not individual eulogy; and as concerns Mr. Keble we have only to repeat that he seems to have done almost all an editor can do for the works of the learned and judicious Hooker. What he has done we will presently set before our readers; observing, in the first place, that the editor's Preface is one of sterling worth, to be carefully read and inwardly digested of all who would enter into the spirit with which Hooker buckled himself to his immortal work. As, however, we suppose that this edition will be the one henceforth in every body's hands; as we suppose also that Mr. Keble's Preface, like Walton's Life, will be found to precede (when it shall please God to have removed him hence,) every subsequent edition, we shall not scruple to draw largely from it on the present occasion, that our readers may know its worth, may turn to it, and be delighted and edified as we have been. On two points only we are inclined to think this edition imperfect, and that is in the arrangement, and in the want of the old orthography. Wherever it is possible, a chronological arrangement is best; and, as Mr. Keble himself says, “is so far preferable to any other, as it gives the completest view of the progress of the writer's own mind, and any modifications which his opinions may have undergone.” Evidently

* Cowper's Olney Hymns, lxi. “Abuse of the Gospel.” Works, vol. viii., p. 106. Every true lover of literature must needs be obliged to Mr. Southey for this beautiful edition of Cowper.

it was the wish of the editor that this edition should have been arranged in consonance with his judgment on this point. But in these days of changes, when the saying of old is reversed, and *whatever is, is wrong*, perhaps, some misgivings crossed his mind. Accordingly, instead of placing before the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity the Sermons relating to the controversy with Travers, he says, "in the present publication, the precedent of all former ones has been respected; but it will be for future editors to consider whether they may not advantageously invert this order." Our hope is, that in the present call for the works of our standard divines, this edition will be soon sold off, and that Mr. Keble himself will take in hand that arrangement which he has proposed, and for which he is so well fitted. Coming from him it will come with authority. Although, then, he has here done his part well, we think with himself, he would have done better if he had arranged the works in the way which he himself thought best.

What we have here said on the subject of chronological arrangement may be said of the orthography. For our own parts we like an author in his own dress, as we had occasion to say two numbers back, when dwelling on Mr. Wilkins's edition of Sir Thomas Browne's Works. Who would wish to see a picture of the Elizabethan age furbished up and dressed in the latest cut of a Stultz or Nugee? The comparison is in extremes, and far-fetched, but it will very well express what we mean. And that Mr. Keble's sentiments tally very nearly with our own may be seen from the annexed extract.

"The *editio princeps* itself is a small folio, very closely but clearly, and in general most accurately, printed. The present edition professes to be a reprint of it, except in some matters of punctuation, and in many of orthography. As to the former: amidst great general exactness (to which also the little remaining MS. bears witness), there occur sometimes whole pages in which almost all the smaller stops are omitted in a manner which could scarcely be intentional: and thus the liberty has been taken of arranging them in the way which seems most agreeable to the author's general system of punctuation. Care, however, has been taken not unwarrantably to determine by this process the meaning of clauses, which might fairly be left ambiguous. However, both in this question, and still more in that of spelling, the editor acknowledges that he should himself prefer an exact reprint of the original excepting, of course, palpable errors of the press. In one respect especially, *i. e.* as a specimen and monument of language, ancient books lose very much of their value by the neglect of ancient orthography. But this, it was feared, could not be remedied without making the work less fit for general use. All that remained was to take care that no word should be lost, added, or mistaken; and this it has been endeavoured to ensure by more than one exact collation."—pp. vii. viii.

And thus much for the two points of chronological arrangement and orthography. We will now pursue the order of the editor's Preface.

We suppose that the occasion of Hooker's writing the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity is well known to all who take up his Treatise; and a more painfully instructive Preface than that addressed to them that seek, as they term it, the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England, was never written for the instruction and warning of after-ages. Would that the present in which the Church is almost "worried to death with reformation" would acknowledge history to be something more than an old almanack, and lay it to heart. But on this point, and on others, in some sort connected with it,—such, for example, as Gauden has treated of in his Hieraspistes,—we purpose, if we have space, to treat of in the latter pages of this article. As we said, then, we suppose the occasion of Hooker's work is known to all our readers; but the statement of Walton, that the dispute with Travers led *immediately* to the design of it, is confirmed by a passage in the sermon on Pride, which internal evidence proves to have belonged to the series censured by Travers. We give it as it stands in Keble, because it is of consequence.

"The passage occurs in a portion of the sermon now for the first time printed.* He is speaking of the difference between moral or natural and positive or mutable law; 'which difference,' he says, 'being undiscerned, hath not a little obscured justice. It is no small perplexity which this one thing hath bred in the minds of many, who beholding the laws which God himself hath given abrogated and disannulled by human authority, imagine that justice is hereby conculcated; that men take upon them to be wiser than God himself; that unto their devices his ordinances are constrained to give place: which popular discourses, when they are polished with such art and cunning as some men's wits are well acquainted with, it is no hard matter with such tunes to enchant most religiously affected souls. The root of which error is a misconceit that all laws are positive which men established, and all laws which God delivereth immutable. No, it is not the author which maketh, but the matter whereon they are made, that causeth laws to be thus distinguished.' Such as are acquainted with the argument of the three first books of Ecclesiastical Polity, will perceive at once in the paragraph just cited the very rudiment and germ of that argument; which, occurring as it does in a sermon which must have been preached within a few months of the discourse on Justification, shows how his mind was then employed, how ripe and forward his plans were, and how accurate Walton's information concerning them."—pp. iv. v.

From this Mr. Keble fixes upon the summer of 1586 as the

* See vol. iii., p. 770.

time of his commencing his work; and, as the four first books were not licensed till the 9th of March, 1592-3, (Walton says they did not *appear* till 1594,) most of them must have been composed in London, in the midst of controversy and whilst he had to preach to the audience at the Temple. For it was not till 1591 that he obtained the parsonage or rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum; where, according to his heart's desire, "he might study, and pray for God's blessing upon his endeavours, and keep himself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of his mother earth, and eat his own bread without oppositions." The second portion, containing the fifth book alone, came out in 1597; and, as Mr. Keble says, "seems to have excited great and immediate attention." One result of its appearance was a pamphlet to which the editor has called the reader's attention, and respecting which he has gathered together all the information he could. The title of it is, "A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants, unfeigned favourers of the present state of Religion, authorized and professed in England: unto that reverend and learned man, Mr. R. Hoo. requiring resolution in certain matters of doctrine (which seeme to overthrow the foundation of Christian Religion and of the Church among us) expresslie contained in his five books of *Ecclesiastical Policie*, 1599." Mr. Keble quotes the opening sentences, saying, that the general drift of it may be gathered from them, and certainly when we find Hooker censured as a Papist in disguise, we cannot but call to mind certain sayings of our modern Ultra-Protestants. Nor can we forget the surmises against Mr. Newman in Mr. Stanley's late pamphlet. This, however, is but the old game played over again; and the caustic language of South, whose spirit was stirred within him at the base faction which would again, as it had once done, pull down the Establishment, even though it be bitter, is much to the point.

"Whence we see the reason of some men's giving such honourable names and appellations to the worst of men and actions, and base reproachful titles to the best: such as are calling faction, and a spitting in their prince's face, *petitioning*; fanaticism and schism, *true Protestantism*; sacrilege and rapine, *thorough reformation*, and the like. As, on the contrary, branding conformity to the rules and rites of the best church in the world, with the false and odious name of *formality*; and traducing all religious and conscientious observers of them, as *mongrel Protestants* and *Papists in masquerade*. And, indeed, many are and have been called Papists of late years, whom those very persons who call them so, know to be far from being so. But what then do they mean by fixing such false characters upon men, even against their own consciences? Why, they mean and design this,—they would set such a mark upon those whom they hate, as may cause their throats to be cut,

and their estates to be seized on, when the rabble shall be let loose upon the government once again; which such beggarly, malicious fellows impatiently hope and long for.”*

Far be it from us to indulge in the caustic vein of South, but the truth must needs be spoken, and if ever man, South assuredly was a *malleus schismaticorum* in his day. Far be it again from us to depreciate the dangers of Popery; but, at the same time, we heartily believe that many a false surmise is given, where the errors of the Papacy will not attach themselves,—no, no more than they did to the name of Hooker. It was a common saying with Martin Luther, that *every man was born with a pope in his belly*.† It is a homely saying, and savours somewhat of the man; but we may do worse than bear it in mind, for many a man that calls another Papist, has *Pope-self* set up at home; and he is oftentimes, *se judice*, as supreme and infallible as a Hildebrand or a Gregory. But to return.

The Christian Letter here referred to has its heads set down in p. xii., and the copy used by the editor, and preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is enriched by numerous notes in Hooker's own handwriting. The most of these are incorporated, says Mr. Keble, “in this edition of the Ecclesiastical Polity, subjoined (with so much of the pamphlet itself as seemed necessary to make them intelligible,) to those portions of the work respectively to which the pamphlet in each case referred.” Hooker's idea of the writer of this letter,—for he and Dr. Covel both refer it to one person writing in the name of many,—appears to have been very low; and the reason why he thought it necessary to answer it in part, and to draw up memoranda for the whole, was evidently because he saw that the pamphlet proceeded from some veteran or veterans in the cause of Puritanism. “On the whole,” to use Mr. Keble's own words, “it seems very clear that the Christian Letter may be regarded as a kind of document, expressing the views and feelings of the Puritans of that generation.” Accordingly, as we said, he prepared to answer it; and it is because of certain fragments now published for the first time that we have been induced to speak so much of what would else appear a matter of comparatively little import. These fragments will be found appended to the second volume of this edition, and they are certainly valuable, and we may thank Archdeacon Cotton, as Mr. Keble has done, for the transcripts of these, as well as for all that comes from the Dublin library. We now give in the editor's own words what relates to them. After

* South's Sermons, vol. ii., p. 40.

† Farindon's Sermons, vol. ii., p. 158. Ed. folio, 1672.

having again adverted to the notes* in Hooker's own handwriting in the margin of the *Christian Letter* preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he goes on to say,

"But Hooker's preparations in his own defence had proceeded further than these brief and scattered hints. In the library of 'Trinity College, Dublin, (MS. B. i., 13,) is what is described in the catalogue as, 'A Treatise by Hooker, on Grace, the Sacraments, Predestination,' &c.; which in these passages clearly indicates itself to have formed part of the intended reply to the *Christian Letter*. It contains much valuable matter, although in a very undigested and imperfect form; with exception, perhaps, of the portion concerning Predestination, which is much the largest of the three, containing in the MS. twenty closely written folio pages, whereas the other two, on Grace and on the Sacraments, contain but six and four respectively. We may conjecture that this more finished part was not now for the first time written; but rather that the revival of the dispute on predestination led the author to revise papers which he had prepared more than ten years before, when Travers first attacked him on the subject. For in the Answer to Travers' Supplication, § 23, he states himself to have 'promised at some convenient time to make the points then agitated clear as light, both to him and to all others.' Now the points were the very same which the *Christian Letter* had now called in question. If this conjecture be warrantable, it will follow that we cannot certainly reckon upon these fragments as exhibiting Hooker's latest and most matured judgment on all the mysterious topics introduced in them; although the distinct reference to the Lambeth Articles at the end must undoubtedly be regarded as a deliberate summary of the general conclusions at which he had then arrived. Of the second fragment, that on the Sacraments, it may seem questionable whether it is rightly placed as a part of this controversy. As far as it goes, it is wholly defensive, against Romanists; but it might be intended as introductory to a view of the question from the other side. The whole of these fragments will be found in the Appendix to the fifth book. Their genuineness is morally demonstrable. The writer uses the first person in speaking of the books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and refers to the *Christian Letter* in a way which coincides remarkably with Hooker's own MS. memoranda. Compare (*e. g.*) the mention of *aptness* and *ableness* in the fragment, p. 684 with a note in p. 11 of the pamphlet, which will be found in this edition, E. P. i. vii. 6. But, indeed, it is hardly necessary to dwell on minute marks of this kind, so strong and clear is the internal evidence throughout. To say nothing of favourite idioms, and turns of language; the views themselves, philosophical and theological; the mode of developing these views; the allegations from the fathers and schoolmen, and the way of translating them; the introduction and

* Some of these notes (for the insertion of which no convenient place occurred elsewhere) Mr. Keble has thrown into the form of an Appendix, (No. iii.) to the editor's Preface. The reader will also find there facsimiles of Hooker's, G. Cranmer's, and G. Sandys's handwritings.

management of rapid historical sketches; the quiet and sustained majesty of style; and more perhaps than all, the deep awe with which sacred things are approached; are so many tokens of ownership, impossible to be counterfeited. One quality, indeed, is wanting,—there are few if any traces of that instinctive playfulness of humour which breaks out so often in his former controversial writings. It would seem as if he had determined to be more than usually guarded in his manner of speaking of his adversaries on this occasion; a circumstance not a little remarkable, when compared with the notes on the Christian Letter, many of them so keenly expressive of his first sharp sense of their unfair usage of him.”—pp. xvii.—xix.

So much, then, for the five first books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, and to the Christian Letter which the fifth gave rise to, and for the fragments of Hooker which appear to have been part of a reply to that letter, and which are now for the first time published. As, however, the name of Hooker is often used in connection with the terms election and reprobation, and often inconsiderately so used, we feel it incumbent upon us to give the Lambeth Articles as they stand in Whitgift's Life,* and Hooker's modification of them as it stands in his fragment. Mr. Keble has very judiciously given the former in the Appendix to Book v. and the only alteration on our parts is to put the two immediately in juxtaposition, with Hooker's words in *Italics*.

HOOKER'S MODIFICATION.

LAMBETH ARTICLES.

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| <p>i. <i>That God hath predestinated certain men, not all men.</i></p> <p>ii. <i>That the cause moving him hereunto was not the foresight of any virtue in us at all.</i></p> <p>iii. <i>That to him the number of his elect is definitely known.</i></p> | <p>i. Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.</p> <p>ii. Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.</p> <p>iii. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus numerus est, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.</p> |
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* Life by Strype, vol. ii., p. 280. It happened to us some years ago to meet with a most laborious and really zealous clergyman,—one whose life has been almost an unbroken line, τῷ νόπῳ τῆς ἀγάπης,—who had always avoided reading Hooker from an idea that he was a rigid supralapsarian Calvinist. It is a singular fact,—and yet paradoxical as it may seem,—he was a well-read man, one that well approved of South's excellent sermon of the *Scribe instructed* (Matt. xiii. 52), and as orthodox in his life as in his ministry. This remarkable fact induced us to give the Lambeth Articles and Hooker's modification of them.

HOOKER'S MODIFICATION.

iv. *That it cannot be but their sins must condemn them to whom the purpose of his saving mercy doth not extend.*

v. *That to God's foreknown elect final continuance of grace is given.*

vi. *That inward grace whereby to be saved is deservedly not given unto all men.*

vii. *That no man cometh unto Christ, whom God by the inward grace of his Spirit draweth not.*

viii. *And that it is not in every, no not in any man's own mere ability, freedom, and power, to be saved, no man's salvation being possible without grace. Howbeit, God is no favourer of sloth; and, therefore, there can be no such absolute decree touching man's salvation as on our part includeth no necessity of care and travail, but shall certainly take effect, whether we ourselves do wake or sleep.**

LAMBETH ARTICLES.

iv. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

v. Vera, viva, justificans fides, et Spiritus Dei [sanctificans, non exinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.

vi. Homo verè fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoriâ fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiternâ suâ per Christum.

vii. Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, quâ servari possint, si voluerint.

viii. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur à Patre, ut veniant ad Filium.

ix. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

The five first books were all of the Ecclesiastical Polity published in the life-time of Hooker; but that the other three were completed before his death is evident from two, if not three contemporary statements, independent, as Mr. Keble observes, of each other. First of all, Dr. Spencer, in his Preface to the first edition of the collected five books, declares, that "he lived till he

* We are not quite sure that we have bracketed these Articles quite as Hooker would have done; but more on this point may be seen in the editor's Preface, p. ci. &c.

† Vol. ii. p. 752.

saw them perfected." Secondly, Dr. Covel, in his *Just and Temperate Defence*, p. 149, has the words following, "Those three books of his, which from his own mouth I am informed that they were finished." And thirdly, the anecdote of Walton, which he probably received from the Cranmer family, and inserted in his *Life*, namely, that in his last sickness "he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. Saravia, (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) 'That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;' which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the Church the benefit of them, as completed by himself; and it is thought he hastened his own death by hastening to give life to his Books.*"

But how comes it that the Church did not receive the benefit of them, as Hooker left them completed? The probable reason is, that they got into the hands of the Puritans who mangled them, and, so to say, left them half-dead; at least as concerns the sixth book, which, more particularly, was opposed to their discipline. That, however, our readers may be in possession of all the facts connected with their history we will follow Mr. Keble as our guide, and lay before them the substance of his clear and valuable statement, collected from all the authorities which have reference to the matter in hand.

Hooker died November the 2d, 1600, leaving his wife, by will dated October 26th, sole executrix, in possession of his papers with the rest of his chattels, "under the supervision of a person of the name of Churchman, probably her father-in-law, (see Bishop Andrews's Letter, p. 115, note ⁷.) in conjunction with his own friend and pupil, Sandys." Within five days after the death of Hooker Bishop Andrews, then at court, wrote to Dr. Parry, who would seem to have been intimate with the Churchman family, in a tone of great anxiety concerning his papers. It seems the letter was of no avail, for the next thing we hear of concerning them is, that the archbishop sent one of his chaplains to inquire after the three remaining books, of which the widow "would not or could not give any account." Within an interval of three months more, "suspicions having arisen, she was summoned before the privy council, and, in a preliminary examination, confessed to the archbishop that many of her husband's writings had been burned and torn by a Mr. Clarke, (probably the same who married her daughter); and another minister who dwelt near Canterbury." Nothing more than this was elicited, as she died

* Walton's *Life*, p. 107, vol. i. of this edition.

suddenly. Such is the statement of Walton, which he probably received from William, the brother of George Cranmer, and it is corroborated by what the son of Bishop King communicated to Walton, "with the express intention of its being made public in his name."*

But it may be asked here, how comes it that there is no record left of the examination of Hooker's widow in the minutes of the council. We give Mr. Keble's answer verbatim.

"It is true, no record of the transactions remains in the council books; but it does not appear from Walton's account that it ever came officially before the council. On the whole the conclusion is irresistible, that the completed books were irrecoverably gone; and all that remained was to secure and arrange what was left of the rough draughts. These, it may be supposed, Mrs. Hooker gave up to the archbishop, on occasion of the aforesaid inquiry, *i. e.* about March, 1600. And he committed them to the care of Dr. Spencer, not only, doubtless, as an intimate college friend of the author's, but also as one of the nearest surviving representatives of George Cranmer, who, of all others, would have been fittest for the trust, had he been alive. But he unfortunately had fallen at the battle of Carlingford, November 13th, 1600, only eleven days after his friend and tutor, and in all probability before he could be aware of his death."—p. xxii.

In accordance with the charge of the archbishop, Dr. Spencer republished with a Preface (given by Mr. Keble in this edition,) the five first books of the Ecclesiastical Polity,—according to Wood, in 1604,—with the promise of giving to the world, in due time, the "old, imperfect and mangled draughts," which "some evil disposed minds, whether of malice, or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them."† For the present, however, he was hindered in his design by the new translation of the Bible, in which he was engaged as one of the Westminster committee. But on the death of Reynolds, in 1607, he was elected President of Corpus Christi College, and then he turned his thoughts to the work afresh, and pitched upon "a young scholar of the name of Henry Jackson, of the city of Oxford, skilful and industrious in translating, arranging, and compiling," to transcribe for him, as Walton says, "all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers." Jackson set

* See Bishop King's Letter, p. 130 of this edition.

† Dr. John Spencer to the Reader, see p. 154 of this edition. The letter, or preface rather, is altogether racy and characteristic. How true is it, "that the unhappy controversy about the received ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England, hath, by the unnatural growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made known to the world that it never received blessing from the Father of peace!" The only other publication extant of Dr. Spencer is a Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, on Isaiah v. 2, 3, which Mr. Keble describes "as full of eloquence and striking thoughts."

about his work *con amore*, and Dr. Spencer appears willing to have granted to him the editor's credit which he desired. In 1612, 1613, 1614, he published several of the sermons, "among which that on Justification had so rapid a sale that a new edition was required in a few weeks." As to the remaining books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, for some reason, which does not appear, it was intended to publish the eighth first, and Fulman has preserved all these fragments of letters by Jackson, all dated 1612, which show that he was busily employed in the task of *polishing* and arranging it. The latter fragment complains, "that the president, as he, Jackson, had reason to think, meant to edit it in his own name, although its revival (for he could call it no less) was the work of him, Jackson, alone; a plain case of one man bearing off another man's honours."

"Thus far the business of publication had advanced when Dr. Spencer died, 3d of April, 1614. At his death, he bequeathed Hooker's papers, 'as a precious legacy,' to Dr. King, who, in 1611, had been made bishop of London. Thus they were taken out of Jackson's custody at a time when he was not very kindly affected towards any one who might interfere with the interest in them which he considered himself to have acquired. The rest of their history, as a collection, is soon told. Bishop King's son informs Walton, that his father preserved them until his death, which happened March 30th, 1621. Afterwards they continued in his, Henry King's, hand, till Archbishop Abbot claimed them for the Lambeth library. They were conveyed to him by Dr. Barkham, his chaplain, who being dean of Bocking, was probably a neighbour of King's, then archdeacon of Colchester. This must have taken place before September, 1633. It is remarkable,* that while they were under Laud's custody, no thought of completing the edition seems to have been entertained. The reports on the state of the MSS. were probably discouraging, and a false notion might prevail of undue countenance likely to be afforded to the innovators by certain portions. However, the papers remained undisturbed, except by occasional copyists, (with whom the eighth book seems to have been most in favour,) until December 28th, 1640, when the archbishop was committed for high treason, and his library was made over to the custody of Prynne. From him it passed to Hugh Peters, by a vote of the Commons, June 27th, 1644. Nothing more is known of the fate of the original papers; and certainly it is no great wonder, if whilst they remained in such hands, the friends of the Church looked suspiciously at the publication of anything which professed to have formed part of them."—pp. xxiv. xxv.

The first of these fragments published was that contained in

* Perhaps not so remarkable as would appear at first sight. The times were troublous times, and, coming from Laud, they would have been received coldly if not suspiciously by more parties than one, who had not the heart to value that great, and, as we believe, good man.

Appendix No. ii. to the third volume of this edition, entitled, *A Discovery of the Causes of the Continuance of these Contentions concerning Church Government, out of the Fragments of Richard Hooker*. It came out from the Oxford press, in 1641, under the sanction of Archbishop Ussher. For the book to which it is prefixed we must refer our readers to Mr. Keble's note.* Concerning the genuineness of the fragment the editor says, he "does not feel entitled to express any decided opinion; but is rather inclined to hold the negative."

The next fragment is Cranmer's excellent Letter appended to Walton's Life, and published in Appendix No. ii. vol. ii. of this edition; of which Mr. Keble speaks in pp. xx. and xxv. of his Preface. He is against ascribing the editorship of it either to Jackson or to Walton, but thinks it may have passed through the hands of Ussher, who appears to have spent the whole of that year (1642) either in Oxford or in London.

The third is one of much greater import, published in 1648, according to Wood, but in 1651, according to the copy by which Keble corrected the press of this edition, intitled, "Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Policy, the Sixth and Eighth Books. By Richard Hooker. A work long expected and now published according to the most authentique copies. London, printed by R. B. (Richard Bishop), and are to be sold by George Badger, in St. Dunstan's Church Yard, in Fleet Street." Small 4to. pp. 226. It does not fall within our limits to dwell upon the different MS. authority for these two books, but they are not the same, and must severally be accounted for. We, therefore, refer our readers to the lucid statement of the editor, and proceed at once to give the following very long extract, which we suppose will inform them, as it has done ourselves, on every thing which relates to the present spurious shape in which the sixth book appears. We consider the extract extremely valuable.

"But concerning the sixth book a very material inquiry remains. At first sight, of all the three questionable books, this is, in one respect, by far the most perplexing. As it stands at present it is an entire deviation from the subject. For whereas the plan of the whole treatise required in this part a full discussion of the claim of lay-elders to a part in church jurisdiction; and whereas the title † distinctly propounds that subject; it is clear and certain, that of the whole book as it stands the

* Vol. iii. p. 575.

† The title is, *The Sixth, of the Power of Jurisdiction, which the reformed platform claimeth unto Lay-Elders, with others*. The reader who may wish for full matter on the subject of lay-elders, we would refer to Bishop Hall's *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, Part 3. Works, vol. iii., pp. 178—192, ed. folio. South has also a word to say upon this subject. See vol. v. p. 26.

two first chapters only, and the first section of the third chapter, have any relation to that subject. The remainder, being nineteen-twentieths of the whole, is a series of dissertations on Primitive and Romish Penance, in their several parts, confession, satisfaction, absolution. This anomaly, which every reader must have observed, and which in any writer carried so far would be extraordinary, but in Hooker, of all writers, is quite unaccountable, is explained at once by a document, which the present editor has had permission to copy from the original in Corpus Christi College library; and which he has subjoined as an appendix * to the sixth book. It appears that Hooker, having finished the treatise on lay-elders, forwarded it, as had been his custom with former portions of his work, to his friends and confidential advisers,—Cranmer and Sandys; and the paper alluded to gives the result of their criticism. It is in their own handwriting; Cranmer's part (which was afterwards reviewed by Sandys) filling twenty-four folio pages, and Sandy's part, which is more closely written, occupying six pages more. Its genuineness is ensured, not only by internal evidence, (who could ever have thought such a paper worth forging?) but also by the attestations of Walton and Fulman, which the reader will find, vol. iii. p. 133, note ¹. This document would have been worthy of preservation were it only for the good sense and accurate reasoning by which, even in such disjointed fragments, the writers have contrived to throw light on many parts of a curious and important subject: or, again, as a pleasing monument of the entire, affectionate confidence which subsisted between Hooker and his two pupils; occupied as they were in lines of life very far removed from his,—Cranmer as a diplomatist, Sandys as a member of parliament; but as a document in the question of the genuineness of the (so called) sixth book, these notes are in truth quite decisive. First, it will be found that among them all there are not so many as four instances, in which the *catch-words* at the beginning of the note occur in the text as it stands. Next, the whole subject matter of their remarks, the scriptural and other quotations referred to, indicate an entirely different work. There is not a word about penitency, auricular confession, absolving power; but (in the third place,) the frame of the whole, and each particular, as far as it can be understood, implies the annotators to have had before them a work really addressing itself to the question of lay-elders, and meeting all the arguments which, as we know from contemporary writers, the upholders of the Puritan platform were used to allege.

“As far as can be gathered from the very scanty notices remaining, it may seem that Hooker, entering, as Sandys thought, rather too abruptly on his subject, treated of these following heads. 1. Of the natural connection between the two powers, of Order and of Jurisdiction. 2. Of the best way of drawing the line between Ecclesiastical and Civil Causes. 3. Of the principle of Courts Ecclesiastical, and the meaning of ‘Tell the Church.’ 4. Of the Church's Anathema, in which he seems to have made three degrees, and to have considered St. Paul's expression, Rom. ix. 3, as referring to excommunication. Cranmer's re-

* Vol. iii. pp. 133–168.

mark on this is very striking,* and very much in unison with the little that remains of him besides. 5. What offences are excommunicable; under which head the question recurred of the limits of Church and State power, and Sandys lays down that it is an error to make the sovereign a mere lay person. 6. Effects of excommunication (probably against Erastus). Distinction between the Church's anathema and that of a mere ecclesiastical judge. Whether temporal judgment on the excommunicated person might ever be expected to ensue. The case of Victor cited; probably to moot the question of the effect of a wrong excommunication. The Epicurean tendency of slighting excommunication was pointed out in the next place; and frivolous proceedings in ecclesiastical courts deprecated, as leading to such contempt. 7. The interference of presbyterial jurisdiction with sovereign authority was next urged against Beza. 8. The precedents of Jewish polity were considered (on which head down to the time of Jehoshaphat a valuable abstract of the discourse is given in one of Cranmer's notes). 9. The pleas were examined which the defenders of eldership were accustomed to urge from the New Testament; especially Rom. xii. 8; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Acts, xvi. 23; 1 Tim. v. 17. 10. He proceeded to the precedents usually alleged on this subject from the Fathers; having both in this, and the part next before, an eye particularly to T. C. part iii. tract 8. The book appears to have concluded as it began,—rather too abruptly for the taste of the friendly revisers. Each of them recommends an appropriate conclusion; Cranmer suggesting that it might be well to add some remarks on the indirect political inconveniences of the lay-eldership; Sandys on the other incongruities of the Geneva platform; the essential distinction of pastor from teacher; the arrangement of their consistories, their synods, and the like.

"Somewhat after this sort, judging by the fragments which remain, did the argument of the sixth book proceed; and every one who has read Whitgift, Bancroft, or Bilson on the one hand, Beza or Cartwright on the other, will be aware that these are the topics which Hooker must have introduced in order to perform the service which he had undertaken. It now appears, in point of fact, that he did so. But the treatise which embodied his views on the subject, and which one may collect from these indistinct notices to have been more valuable by far in its constructive than in its destructive parts, has disappeared, even in its rough outline, with the exception, perhaps, of a few sentences near the beginning.

"The question has been asked,† 'If it be true, as is alleged, that different MSS. of the lost books did not agree, if these disagreements

* It is indeed striking, and for that reason we give it in a note, and in Italics. "Moreover because yt may seeme but a sleight kynd of endamagement which the Apostle doth wishe unto himself, yf yt reach no farther then you seeme to understand yt, especially in theis dayes wherein separation from the Church is taken for a matter of nothing: yt may be shewed how highly they accounted of the visible and outward communion of saintes, as may appeare in that Psalme where David extollethe the state of the sparrowe (as I remember) even in that respect because she had her nest in the temple." See vol. iii. p. 136, part i.

† Hallam's Constitutional History of England, c. iv. vol. i. p. 236. 4to. 1827, note. (Editor's note.)

were the result of fraud, why should we conclude that they were corrupted by the Puritans rather than by the Church? It is presumed that the fact now demonstrated, namely, the suppression of the entire book on lay-elders, supplies of itself an answer to this question. For if there was one point in their system on which the Puritans of the sixteenth century were more sensitive, and piqued themselves more * than on the rest, this of lay-elders was that point. Suppose a party of them in Hooker's study, according to the report made by Walton; the sixth book was that which they would first lay violent hands on! A churchman would be under no temptation of the sort; if he wanted to tamper with any part, he would sooner select parts of books seven and eight, in which he might think unguarded concessions made to the prejudice of regal or episcopal authority. As it is, there can be no question that far 'other than verbal changes have been made in the loose draught which the author left;' and surely there are also very considerable appearances of the MSS. having been once in the hands of Puritans. Bishop Andrewes' letter proves how much he apprehended such a thing at the time; we know from a statement of Travers, and by the pedigree subjoined to this Preface, that his kindred, in all likelihood Puritans, were connected with the Hookers by marriage; there is also reason to believe that Hooker's own daughter married into a Puritan house; add to this only so much of the Cranmer family's statement to Walton as it was impossible for them to be mistaken in: and whether we believe the widow Hooker's account of the Puritan minister's interference or not, it cannot be said that the case is clear of all suspicion of the kind.

"But to return to the sixth book. As has been said with regard to nineteen-twentieths of it the case is made so clear by these notes, that it might have been more consistent with the duty of an editor,† had the whole of it after c. iii. § 1, been separated entirely from the books of Ecclesiastical Polity, of which, undoubtedly, the author never meant it for part. But the change may, perhaps, be made with advantage in a future edition, *i. e.* by far the greater portion of the book may be separated, not from Hooker's remains altogether, but from forming part of the Ecclesiastical Polity. For although it be found in the wrong place, yet is there no cause whatever to account it ascribed to a wrong author. It is full of instruction, piety, and eloquence; it has every internal proof of being Hooker's. Its appearing where it does may be reasonably accounted for, without supposing any further liberties taken by the Puritans, if we only imagine it in a heap of papers, accidentally coming next to a sketch of the preamble of the sixth book. Any one eager to publish might seize on it, and with no deliberate purpose of deceiving, or, as is most likely, for mere purposes of trade, might send it abroad with

* See editor's Preface, iv. 5, and note; and *Querimonia Ecclesiæ*, p. 219. "Non tam bonis displicet novum hoc seniorum genus, quam placet Puritanis. Nam cum omnia quæ nobis proponunt plurimum semper diladant, . . . præclarum tamen hunc seniorum consensum tanti faciunt, ut eo uno totius Ecclesiæ salutem niti existiment." (*Editor's note.*)

† A letter before us from Southey declares his wish that Keble had on this point, and on the others above alluded to, followed his own judgment.

the mishomer now detected. The wonder is, that such a critic as Ussher should have corrected it, as it seems he had done, for the press, without being aware of its total deviation from the question; and that Walton, and, perhaps, still that Fulman, should have had the notes of Cranmer and Sandys in his possession, without discovering the interpolation in the sixth book."—p. xxvi.—xxxii.

The present edition of Hooker, as before observed, being the one henceforth likely to be in every one's hands, we have not scrupled to draw largely on the editor's Preface, for the benefit of those who, like ourselves, made Hooker their study in the earlier days of their ministry, and were at a loss to account for the incoherencies of the sixth book. Nothing can be well clearer than Mr. Keble's statement. We proceed now to the history of the two remaining books.

The publishers of the sixth and eighth books, in 1651, expressed a hope that they should have recovered the seventh to have published it with them, but the hope proved abortive, and nothing was heard of it till 1662, when Gauden, then promoted to the see of Worcester, set forth a new edition of Hooker, augmenting it by this seventh book, and some paragraphs at the end of the eighth. The extracts from his Preface given by the present editor, justify him in saying, that Gauden used sounding language. In fact it was but a delusion (perhaps a self-delusion) to lead his readers to suppose that they were now *completed, entire, &c.*, "although they had not the last politure of their parent's hands." What MS. Gauden used appears, from Mr. Keble's examination, to have agreed with the printed text, as relates, at least, to the sixth and eighth books, the paragraphs above alluded to only excepted. But as concerns the seventh book it is a curious thing that he should have omitted to say where he found the MS., and what he did with it. *Non est inventus*,—nothing is known of it. It follows, of course, that the only direct testimony to the genuineness of the seventh book is Gauden's. Mr. Keble remarks that Gauden, as far as is known, "had no political or theological views, which could lead him to take liberties with the MS."; and certainly, however equivocal the character of Gauden may appear in the history of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, those who are well acquainted with his Hieraspistes,*

* This is a very remarkable work. Some three years ago we had occasion to read it with great care, and we wrote on the fly-leaf what follows: "It would appear from the history of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική that Bishop Gauden's character was anything but that of an upright man's. This work, however, is full of all that is good, and the value of it in the present day is doubled, as we see in it, not *one* or *two*, but all the modern objections against the Church, her ministers, tithes, learning, &c., dragged forth to the light and exposed." It was printed in 1653, in small 4to. and has a curious frontispiece.

will be inclined to agree with the present editor; and, as he justly observes, the suspicion which occurs is rather, that forgery, or at least interpolation, may have been practised, in order to promote the sale of the work.

“ Under such circumstances it is satisfactory to find, that the internal evidence of this seventh book is, on comparison, even more decisive than either that of the sixth or of the eighth. The course of argument and flow of style are more sustained, and more decidedly characteristic. The translations from the fathers are of the same stamp; and this is a point of extreme delicacy, a point in which Hooker, perhaps, is unequalled amongst English writers. It is true that in certain portions, especially towards the end, there is some verbosity, and a considerable degree of repetition.† But this may be thought to arise in part from the editor's uniting, as members of a continuous treatise, what were in fact independent sketches of matters to be somewhere introduced, such sketches, if not checked by comparison, would incidentally run into each other.”—p. xxxiii.

It remains to be observed, that Gauden's edition is full of errors in the printing, and it would appear from the numbering of the pages that the seventh book must have come to his hands after the sixth and eighth had been printed off. The reader of honest old Fuller will have remarked a like occurrence in his *Abel Redivivus*, and will find an apology for it in his *Worthies*. But, in fact, the blunders committed in the edition of Gauden, as Mr. Keble observes, tend rather to favour the genuineness of the composition; for who, as he pointedly asks,—“who, for example, employed in setting off a spurious copy to the best advantage, would ever have left such an error as that, so well known to all unfriendly critics on Hooker, where, in discussing the opinion of St. Jerome on the Divine Right of Bishops, he, or some one else, had made a private note on the MS. and the printers have inserted it, incoherent as it is, in the body of the text?”† Further than this, Walton, who, under the sanction of Archbishop Sheldon, undertook to correct Gauden's principal mistakes, brings no charge against his fidelity.

We have now arrived at the eighth book, and of it more copies seem to have been made than of any of the rest; no doubt, as Mr. Keble remarks, “owing to its immediate bearing on the political questions of the time.” It was first published, as before stated, and avowedly in a mutilated form, in 1651. This edition broke off at the words “to give judgment,”—of this edition vol. iii. p. 548; of that of 1820 (in many probably of our readers' hands) vol. iii. p. 355. As far as it went, however, it “concurred, in the se-

* Compare *e. g.* the corresponding part of the fifth book. (*Editor's note.*)

† The passage alluded to occurs in vol. iii. p. 200, of this edition. See note there.

quence of its parts, with the text which Gauden afterwards gave, and with three out of the four now existing MSS." Dr. Barnard, in his *Clavi Trabales* (of which see an account vol. i. p. 120, note,) in 1661 published some additional fragments out of the papers of Archbishop Ussher, and with them some short marginal notes, and what Dr. Barnard calls, "confirmations and enlargements" under the archbishop's own hand. In the year following Gauden confirmed this publication, by adding the passage which begins, "As therefore the person of the king," ending with the words "the truth therein,"—of this edition vol. iii. p. 549—556, of that of 1820 vol. iii. p. 355—360. Gauden likewise added the passage on the Power of Legislation, which begins in *Clavi Trabales* at "The cause (case) is not like," and ends p. 76, abruptly in the middle of a sentence, at the words "hath simply" (ed. 1820, vol. iii. p. 360—363); and not only so but completed it. Thereby showing, as Mr. Keble says, "that itself was not in these portions borrowed from the *Clavi Trabales*, but had other copies to rely on; which also is evident from the omission of much important matter found in the pamphlet." To which the present editor adds, "The comparison strengthens the idea of Gauden's good faith, while it lessens that of his industry and skill in such work. He subjoined also another fragment, on the limits of Obedience to Sovereigns; which the present editor transfers to an appendix, for reasons to be assigned in their place. All succeeding editors have followed him. The text now given will be found, in very many material points, widely at variance with either of these; many portions added, some few omitted, and the parts which remain transposed in such a manner as to form on the whole an entirely new arrangement. It is the editor's duty now to account for these changes."* We have not, however, space to follow him in his account of the changes mentioned, and therefore refer our readers to p. xxxvi.—xli. of the editor's Preface. But, as it may tend to give a spur to hereafter researches, we feel it our duty to transcribe his latter words concerning the immortal work to which we have been anxious to call the attention of our readers.

"The reader has now before him an account of the materials, by the aid whereof it has been endeavoured to present this immortal but imperfect work, in a form somewhat more accurate, and more inviting to common readers, than it has hitherto been. On the history of the MSS. since nothing distinct is told us, it is in vain to speculate much; but there are one or two obvious conjectures, which it may be right just to mention, if only for the chance of giving hints, which (it is barely pos-

* Editor's Preface, p. xxxv.

sible) may lead to more successful researches in the same or in other quarters.

"It will be remembered that the first person who appeared as taking interest, at least as feeling alarm, concerning the Hooker papers, was Bishop Andrewes in his letter to Parry. It seems not unlikely, that in the course of transmission from Hooker's study through Lambeth to Dr. Spenser, some of them, or transcripts from them, may have lingered in Andrewes' hands. One sermon we know was found in his study, and published, for the first time, by Walton long after; and it seems on the whole not to be doubted, that if any one was allowed to take copies of the rough draught of the missing books at that time, Andrewes would have been anxious to do so. Accordingly we find that among the copies stated to have been compared before the first publication, one had been in his possession; and we are afterwards given to understand, that either the sixth or the eighth book, or both, were actually printed from a copy preserved in his hands, of which copy afterwards Ussher had obtained the custody. For that Ussher had in some way access to Andrewes' papers, the publication by him of the Summary View of Church Government, out of Andrewes' rude draughts, 1641, may evince beyond all question. Not that Ussher was then the actual editor, for he would not, of course, call himself, as he is called in the Address to the Reader, "A Mirror of Learning;" but that he permitted the books to be printed from his MSS. And thus we seem to have arrived at a tolerable ground for considering the received text as so far guaranteed to us by Andrewes and by Ussher.

"This publication took place in 1651, when, of course, the primate as yet knew nothing of the far more correct and enlarged copy now existing in Dublin; of which, however, there can be no doubt that it was at some time in his possession. He died in 1656; therefore this MS. must have fallen into his hands within those five years; a time during which, as he found by unpleasant experience, the treasures of retired students were not unfrequently wandering about for sale, having formed part of the spoil of the civil war in various quarters. Now in the course of the war, as before mentioned, one of the libraries which had suffered in this way was that of Henry Jackson, the rector of Meysey-Hampton, and original editor, under Spenser, of Hooker's remains. It is possible, therefore, that a MS. from Jackson's library might fall into Ussher's hands. But is there any ground for imagining that such a MS. as the amended copy of the eighth book existed there? There is just ground enough, the editor apprehends, for a plausible conjecture, and no more. The conjecture is this: that when Jackson delivered up the papers after Spenser's death into the custody of Bishop King, he may have retained the completer copy of the last book, (which he represents in a fragment preserved by Fulman, as being absolutely 'restored to life' by him), and that he may have banded over to the executors only the rough draught, from which, in course of time, so many transcripts have been made. His own expressions* show that he was precisely in

* See what we have said above, and editor's Preface, p. xxix. *supra*.

the frame of mind, and, perhaps, it must be owned the temptation was not inconsiderable. He writes in December, 1612, 'Puto Præsidentem nostrum emissurum sub suo nomine D. Hookeri librum octavum, à me plane vitæ restitutum. Tulit alter honores.' And in April, 1614, Spenser dies, and the MSS. are reclaimed. Is it doing Jackson any great injustice to suppose that in his pique he retained his more finished copy, being, as Antony Wood says, 'of a cynical' as well as 'of a studious temper?' And if he did, the mode has already been pointed out how that copy, or a transcript of it, might fall into Ussher's hands; and consequently might come to be deposited in the library of Trinity College, when the remains of the primate's books and MSS. were lodged there after the restoration. This, it is repeated, is no more than a conjecture; but such as it is, it may give a possible explanation of the great superiority of that single copy; leading us to suppose, that it is either Jackson's own, or one taken from his.

"As to the seventh book, if it ever existed (as it certainly appears to have done), among Ussher's MSS. he must clearly have acquired it within the last five years of his life; but where it could have been preserved we have no means of ascertaining. This only is evident, that it formed no part of the collection of Bishop Andrewes. It might have been in Lambeth, where, at that time, Ussher would hardly have found access, or it might have formed part of Jackson's store, as was just now conjectured with regard to the eighth book. In any case, to prove it genuine, we must come back to internal evidence."—*Editor's Preface*, p. xli.—xliv.

It remains but to say, that every variation from the original edition, as well as every addition to the eighth book on the authority of the Dublin MS. collated by Archdeacon Cotton, has been carefully noted in the Appendix to part i. of vol. iii.; and, in short, every means which an editor, such as Mr. Keble,—*vir doctus, bonus, atque probus*,—could give to direct his readers to judge for themselves, has been given. The reason also for giving in an Appendix what occurs in Gauden's edition, (see edit. 1820, vol. iii. p. 367—372,) beginning with the words, "Yea, that which is more," and ending at, "if so be we can find it out," will be seen in pp. xxxviii, xxxix. It "probably belonged to a sermon on obedience to authority," and there "is no reason to doubt that it is the production of Hooker, only wrongly assigned to the place in the editor's Preface." With regard to what is printed in vol. iii. p. 556—569 of this edition, the note of collation explains it. See p. 556. What follows is all found in D. alone of the MSS. But §. 1, 2, is printed in the Clavi Trabales, p. 91—94, as far as "to any," p. 558. And lastly, what is found in Gauden's edition, and in the subsequent ones, (e. g. edit. 1820, p. 360—367,) with the reasons of the transfer, will be seen in p. 498—509 of the edition under review.

Having thus presented to our readers a summary of what

relates to the history of the eight books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, we now turn to the *Opuscula*, contained in part ii. of vol. iii. They may be arranged, Mr. Keble says, in two classes, and in order to fall in with this arrangement the reader will observe, by comparing this with any other edition of Hooker, that the usual order has been a little changed. The first class comprises the sermons on Habbakuk, and the controversy with Travers which arose out of some of them; the other, what may be called *Miscellaneous Sermons*.

The first of the sermons,—not only the earliest of the *Opuscula*, but of all Hooker's works that have come down to us, at least, in all probability,—is "Of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect." This would seem to have preceded the next sermon,—the celebrated* one "Of Justification," &c., "itself being preceded," says Mr. Keble, "by one on Predestination which has not come down to us." These sermons, as well as those on Pride, were probably portions of a series on the prophecy of Habbakuk preached in the Temple Church, 1585-6.† The first of these sermons, as here arranged, was published by Jackson in 1612, under the guidance of Spenser. The next,—the sermon on "Justification," &c.,—was also published by Jackson in 1612, and reprinted (so rapid was its sale) in the year following, 1613. By a fragment of a letter of Jackson's, preserved by Fulman, and given by the present editor, we learn that the first impression was exhausted in a few days; a circumstance which shows us the celebrity of Hooker's name, and the more so, when we consider that it was preached in the first year of Hooker's mastership of the temple, 1584-5. The present edition of this sermon has the advantage of the collation of a MS., among the relics of Ussher, in Trinity College, Dublin. The results will be seen in the margin. Knowing, as we do, the celebrity of Hooker's name, it is curious to read in old Fuller this character of Hooker as to his preaching. "Mr. Hooker his voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all, standing stone-still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his minde,—unmoveable in his opinions. Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning it was found fixed at the end of his sermon. In a word, the doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to garnish it. His stile was long and pithy, driving on a whole flock of several *clauses* before he came to the *close* of his sentence. So that when the copiousness of his style met not with propor-

* It was evidently highly prized by Jeremy Taylor. He refers to it in his "Via Intelligentia—a Sermon," &c., as Mr. Hooker's very learned Discourse of Justification. Works, vol. vi. p. ccclxxi. Ed. Heber.

† See Mr. Keble's note, p. 583, vol. iii. part ii.

tionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjustly censured, for perplex, tedious, and obscure. His sermons followed the inclination of his studies, and were for the most part on controversies, and deep points of school divinity.”*

But to return. This sermon on “Justification,” &c., gave immediate occasion for “Walter Travers’ Supplication to the Council,” for the details of which see Walton’s *Life*, vol. i. p. 66 of this edition. Hooker’s answer naturally following it, the two are placed next together in the *Opuscula*. They were originally printed at Oxford by Barnes in 1612, under the superintendence of Henry Jackson, of Corpus Christi College. The present is a reprint of that edition. The Supplication corrected by a MS. in the Bodleian, the answer also, with the additional benefit of a MS. apparently contemporary, in Trinity College, Dublin, collated by Archdeacon Cotton. Having quoted Fuller above, we cannot deprive our readers or ourselves of the pleasure of citing him again with reference to the dissensions in the Temple.

“Here one might on Sundayes have seen almost as many writers as hearers. Not only young students, but even the gravest *benchers*, (such as *Sir Edward Cook* and *Sir James Altham* then were,) were not more exact in taking instructions from their clients, than in writing notes from the mouths of their ministers. The worst was, these two preachers though joyned in affinity (their nearest kindred being married together) acted with different principles, and clashed one against another. So that what *Mr. Hooker* delivered in the forenoon, *Mr. Travers* confuted in the afternoon. At the building of *Solomon’s Temple*, 1 Kings, vi. 7, *neither hammer, nor axe, nor tool of iron was heard therein*. Whereas, alas, in this Temple, not only much knocking was heard, but (which was the worst) the nailes and pins which one master-builder drave in, were driven out by the other.”

Such is the melancholy side of the picture, but there is a bright one too; and, as we dearly love the sunshine, (who ever cursed light but Satan?) we hasten to record it.

“By the way, it must not be forgotten, that in the very midst of the *Paroxisme* betwixt *Hooker* and *Travers*, the latter still bare, (and none can challenge the other to the contrary) a reverend esteem of his adversary. And when an unworthy aspersion (some years after) was cast on *Hooker*, (if Christ was dasht, shall Christians escape clean in their journey to heaven,) *Mr. Travers* being askt of a private friend, what he thought of the truth of that accusation: *In truth*, (said he,) *I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man*. A speech with (*which?*) coming from an ad-

* Fuller’s *Church History*, book ix. p. 216. In the pages following the reader will find much in Fuller’s own peculiar style relative both to Travers and Hooker. What he has here said of his preaching is just what Walton says.

versary, sounds no less to the commendation of his charity who spake it, than to the praise of his piety of whom it was spoken."

The next of the *Opuscula* is the sermon "Of the Nature of Pride," which hitherto has ended with the words "and my fall my stay." (See edition 1820, vol. iii. p. 501.) In the present edition Mr. Keble has been enabled to present his readers with a considerable portion more of it, without the least doubt of its authenticity. What occurs in vol. iii. p. 759—800 of this edition is altogether new. We, like Mr. Keble, can have no reasonable doubt as to its authenticity also; but, in carefully reading the fresh matter now presented to us, we were struck with the much easier flow of language which, in our judgment, it contains. It appears to us wanting in that majestic flow which is to be met with in the five first books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*.* However, should this our opinion be just, it is easily accounted for, on the grounds, namely, of this series of sermons having preceded, and partially given birth to, that immortal work. Our readers will judge for themselves. But as the matter is new we must lay before them what Mr. Keble says of it.

"The sermon 'Of the Nature of Pride,'—the last remaining of the supposed series on Habbakuk,—will also be found in this edition corrected from a MS. (B. i. 13, folio) preserved in the same library (*i. e.* Trinity College, Dublin,) and supposed, like the last, but on no good ground, to be in Hooker's own handwriting. In this copy, at the end of the sermon as it was published by Jackson, appears the following note by Archbishop Ussher: 'Huc usque excusum exemplar; sequentia in eo non habentur.' What follows is a continuation of the sermon, described in the Dublin catalogue as being 'five times so much in quantity as that which is already printed.' Of the genuineness of this portion, never till now published, there can be no doubt. The internal evidence alone would be almost decisive; and, in addition, there is the express testimony of Archbishop Ussher. For it appears that 'he procured this unprinted portion to be copied in a very fair hand as if for publication, or at least better preservation.' Such is the statement of Archdeacon Cot-

* We do not call to mind any passage of our elder divines, subsequent to Hooker, in which any other than the first part of this sermon is alluded to; and this was just what one would have expected, for "*The Spanish Fleet, &c.*" There is an allusion in Farindon's Sermons to the first part, at least in all likelihood. The passage alluded to is p. 750 of this edition, and relates to pride, as the very last and hardest fault to put off. So Farindon, "I may wean myself from the world, fling off vanity, and take off my soul from sensible objects; I may deny my appetite, shut up my eye, bind my hands; I may study pleasure so long till I truly understand it, and know it is but madness; and the world, till I condemn it: but pride *ultima exuitur*, is the last garment we put off; when we are naked, we can keep her on; and when we can be nothing, we can be proud."—Antony Farindon's Sermons, vol. i. p. 160. Ed. folio, 1672. This writer is classed by Burnet, in his "Pastoral Care," with Sanderson and Barrow; and those who know Bishop Jebb's writings will trace Farindon there. He, too, speaks of him in the highest terms.

ton, who transcribed the whole from the copy so made, taking care afterwards carefully to collate every part with the original, which is in a most cramped and difficult hand. In the course of transcribing he found that 'several words had not been read at all by the original copier; others he had read wrong, and some few short clause he had omitted.' On the whole, though the editor has failed to procure a copy of the *editio princeps*, as well of this sermon, as of those on St. Jude; and on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith, yet, by the aid of the archdeacon and this Dublin MS., he hopes that it will be presented to the reader in a tolerably correct form. It is much to be regretted that the fragment proceeds no further, breaking off, as it does, at a most interesting and critical point of one of the chiefest controversies between this Church and Rome. But the loss, it should seem, is irrecoverable; and, perhaps, under all the circumstances, we ought, instead of repining, to congratulate ourselves that so much yet remains."—pp. xlv, xlv.

All that remains of the *Opuscula* are the funeral sermon, intitled, a Remedy against Sorrow and Fear, on John xiv. 17, and which is reprinted from the original edition of 1612;—that on Matt. vii. 7, 8, placed last in this edition, and also reprinted from the original edition, viz. as it was published by Walton at the end of his Life of Bishop Sanderson, 1678, in the title-page to which he describes it as "found in the study of the late learned Bishop Andrewes;"—and lastly, the two sermons on Jude, v. 17—21, not from the original edition, but from that of 1622. But we must give Mr. Keble's own words, as relates to these sermons, and so conclude what has reference merely to the critical history of Hooker's works. After stating that his search for the original edition has been in vain, he proceeds to say,

"This failure he the more regrets, as there may appear on minute examination more internal reason for questioning the genuineness of these two sermons than of anything besides which bears the name of Hooker. For, first, the style of writing and tone of argument are in many places marked by a kind of sharpness and quickness, and here and there by a vagueness of phraseology; far removed from the sedate majesty which reigns in all Hooker's known compositions;* secondly, there runs through the whole a vein of heightened rhetorical expression, quite opposite to his usual guarded way of dealing with all delicate points of doctrine; and thirdly, the appeal made here to men's consciousness on their own spiritual condition, cannot easily be reconciled with the doctrine of the sermon on the Certainty of Faith, or with the jealousy expressed in the fifth book of Ecclesiastical Polity regarding the rule of men's private spirits. On the whole, if the sermons be Hooker's, which the editor is far from positively denying, they must be referred to a date

* We have not space to quote the notes wherein Mr. Keble shows grounds for the doubts here expressed. They certainly have great weight, and we would refer our readers to them.

in his life earlier than any other of his remains ; to a time when he may have hardly ceased to affect the tone of others, both in composition and in doctrine, instead of writing and thinking for himself. There is a date given in one of them, which would harmonize well enough with such a conjecture. 'I must,' says the preacher, 'advertize all men that have the testimony of God's holy fear within their breasts to consider, how injuriously our own countrymen and brethren have dealt with us by the space of *twenty-four years* from time to time ; never ceasing to charge us, some with heresy, some with schism, some with plain and manifest apostacy.' There are, it would seem, but two dates, from which these twenty-four years can be reckoned ; viz. 1558, when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne ; and 1569, or 1570, when the bull of Pius V. declaring her excommunicate and deposed, was issued and sent into England. This latter would bring down the date of the sermon in question to 1593-4 ; a time at which, for the reasons above assigned, it seems most improbable that Hooker could have written them. It remains, that if they be indeed his, they were preached in the 24th or 25th of Elizabeth, 1582-3, when he was not quite thirty years old ; having commenced preacher at St. Paul's Cross, as Walton informs us, in 1581. If the other supposition be preferred, viz., that the two sermons are not Hooker's, it is not necessary to charge Jackson, their original editor, with intentional fraud. They might be found among Hooker's papers,* might even be corrected with his own hand, (of which there are considerable indications,) without being his own compositions. But a critic like Jackson, more zealous than refined, himself evidently of the Reynolds school in theology, might excusably overlook or undervalue objections of that nature. In sum, thus much appears unquestionable,—that we should not be safe in referring to these two sermons, for the matured and deliberate judgment of the author of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, concerning any great point."—p. xlvii.—xlix.

Two points we have omitted to mention in the preceding summary,—one, that the *Life* by Walton is taken from that copy (1675) which had the author's last corrections ;—the other, that the new breaks in the paragraphs and sections, which so much facilitate the reader's progress, are to be attributed to the present editor. Certainly, as he says, in so doing he has, "to a certain extent, taken upon himself the duties of a commentator ;" but no one will not rejoice to find that this arduous task has fallen into the hands of one so competent, morally and critically, to perform it. The unpretending way in which the editor introduces his notice of the laborious task he has completed, reminds us of the *Persone's Prologue*, where our English Homer, as Chaucer is called by Jackson and Fuller, introduces the "sotherne man," who could not "geste, rom, ram, ruf," as saying,

* "If a conjecture might be ventured, Reynolds, or Spenser perhaps himself in his early days, was not unlikely to have written such discourses."—*Editor's note*.

“ But natheles this meditation
 I put it ay under correction
 Of clerkes, for I am not textuel ;
 I take but the sentence, trusteth me wel.
 Therefore I make a protestation
 That I wot standen to correction.”

It now remains for us to turn to the second division of the editor's Preface, in which, as we stated at the beginning of this article, “the freight of holy feeling which we meet” with, is just what we expected when we heard that the task of editing Hooker afresh had been committed to one so fully able to appreciate his sacred memory. Yes, reader, *sacred!* for, like the good man, he has *left an inheritance to his children's children, and the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.* He is one to whom we may apply the words of Persius without fear, as *cedro digna locutus.* And can any one read his Preface to the Ecclesiastical Polity without feeling assured that in the midst of discordant opinions and the strife of tongues, his conversation was in heaven. Take, reader, the concluding words, half wish, half prayer, and even now hope for the best! “*Our trust in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at their highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause of despair is there?) when the passions of former enmity being allayed, we shall, with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly reconciled love, show ourselves each towards other the same which Joseph and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof what man soever amongst you shall any way help to satisfy, (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you but some way or other will,) the blessings of the God of peace, both in this world and in the world to come, be upon him moe than the stars of the firmament in number.** When shall we learn the truth of the saying, “*Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt, discordiâ res maximæ dilabuntur?*”

But to return, and to let our readers know what they will find in the subsequent fifty pages of the editor's Preface, in his own words.

“Here it may be, strictly speaking, the task of the present editor ought to terminate. But there are two large subjects intimately connected with it, to which it appears desirable to invite particular attention. One, the state of the Puritan controversy, just at the time when it was

* We have caused the words to be printed in Italics.

“Tenuem et sine pondere terram

Spirantesque crocos, et in urnâ perpetuum ver!”

The word *moe* we have left as we found it, though it is probably a misprint, as *clam* for *claim* in p. xxxv. It might be *moe*, but in ed. 1820 it is *moe*.

taken up by Hooker, and the mode in which it was conducted by him and his contemporaries; the other, his views on certain questions in theology, collateral, indeed, to that controversy, but at least equally momentous with anything in it, questions apparently beyond his original anticipation, at which in course of discussion he successively arrived, and kept them in sight afterwards with a religious anxiety proportioned to his deep sense of their vital importance."—p. li.

Now, owing to the length of our preceding remarks it will not be in our power to give that careful abstract of Mr. Keble's most able and thoughtful pages, which it is our wish to do; nor yet to corroborate his statements concerning the conflicting principles of Church Government,—Papal, Erastian, and Presbyterian,—which it was our original intention to do; and for which we have by us the collected extracts of many years—

—Πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶ-
νος ὠκέα βέλη
Ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαέτρας
Φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν—*

collected extracts from our elder divines, and other sources, which more immediately bear upon the subject, and with which Mr. Keble in his various and extremely valuable notes shows himself to be so familiar. We hope, however, ere long to present our readers with a full statement of the present condition of the Church in Europe, which, from the natural tendency of present opinions, will call upon us to go over that painfully interesting and dangerous ground, which was broken up in Hooker's day, and seems fair to be so again. We seem to be treading on a crust with the molten lava underneath it,

"Incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso."

But although we cannot follow Mr. Keble throughout his remarks—remarks, which as far as our own reading goes are altogether true, and the result of much and laborious thought,—we, nevertheless, shall lay before our readers certain extracts, which, if we mistake not, will anxiously call upon them to take up the work for themselves, and once more to take to the pages of

* Pindar Ol. Od. ii. 149—152. Would that Mr. Keble himself could be prevailed upon to give in a popular form, (the only form, unfortunately, which now attracts attention, and is the ruin of our literature,) a sketch at what we have hinted at in the text. To him we can conscientiously apply the words of the "Dircean swan," which follow those above quoted,

—σοφὸς ὁ πολ-
λα εἰδὼς φυᾶ.
Μαθόντες δὲ, λάβροι
Παγγλωσσία—

Hooker with that delight which their sober majesty of style and exceeding charity never fail to impart. The following very long extract, but of so much importance at the present time, with relation to the ways of meeting the Puritan arguments, and to the reasons why our Reformers leaned to the Erastian side, we give, even should we be enabled to give no more. The view taken is just in the extreme, and evidently that of a matured and comprehensive judgment.

“Our argument now requires a brief account of the mode in which those who have preceded Hooker had considered it best to meet the invasion from Geneva; confining attention still to the question, in whom Church authority is properly vested; which question, as was remarked in the outset, forms a kind of centre, around which the other points of the controversy gradually came to arrange themselves. It is evident (speaking largely) that there were but two ways of meeting the claim of the New Discipline; the one, the way of the early Church, of which the doctrine of papal supremacy is a perversion and excess; the other, the way which in modern times has been very generally denominated Erastian; though far, indeed, from being an invention of Erastus, since in every kingdom of Europe the Roman claims had been resisted on the like principles, for centuries before he was born.* The peculiarity of Erastus' teaching lay rather in his refusing all right of *excommunication* to the Christian Church. However, it has become usual to designate from him the theory in question, which would rest the government of the Church, spiritual as well as civil, altogether in the Christian magistrate; thus entirely denying the principle on which the Geneva innovation proceeded; whereas the High Churchmen, as they were called, of a later age, would grant the principle but deny the application: they would allow that a succession of governors exists in the Church, of apostolical authority, not to be superseded by man; but they would deny the claim of Geneva to that succession; maintaining what, undoubtedly, *primâ facie* church history would seem to teach,—that the bishops are the true heirs of the apostles in their governing powers as well as in their power of order.

“Now since the episcopal succession has been so carefully retained in the Church of England, and so much anxiety evinced to render both her liturgy and ordination services strictly conformable to the rules and

* Born at Auggenen, in the marquisate of Baden Durlach, in 1523; died at Basil in 1583.—*Melchior Adam*. See Fuller's Church History, book xi. p. 213. Lightfoot favoured his opinions. Fuller says of him, “This *Erastus* (like our *Mr. Perkins*) being lame of his *right*, wrote all with his *left* hand, &c.” “There are those,” says South, “who absolutely deny any jurisdiction to belong to the Church; affirming that all the apostolical sanctions were rather advice than law; thus making the church-officers to be only like a college of physicians, who when they consult about, and determine any matter in physic, and prescribe to their patients, their prescriptions command nothing by way of authority, but only propose by way of counsel. Whence it is less wonder that *Erastus*, a physician, should endeavour to reduce the Church to such an imaginary power.”—*Sermons*, vol. v. p. 62. Erastus was physician to the Elector Palatine, who appointed him professor of medicine at Heidelberg.

doctrines of antiquity, it might have been expected that the defenders of the English hierarchy against the first Puritans should take the highest ground, and challenge for the bishops the same unreserved submission, on the same plea of exclusive apostolical prerogative, which their adversaries feared not to insist on for their elders and deacons. It is notorious, however, that such was not in general the line preferred by Jewel, Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy was intrusted, during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. They do not expressly disavow, but they carefully shun that unreserved appeal to Christian antiquity, in which one would have thought they must have discerned the very strength of their cause to lie. It is enough with them to show that the government by archbishops and bishops is ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its *exclusive* claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the holy sacraments; and yet it is obvious that such a course of argument alone (supposing it borne out by facts,) could fully meet all the exigencies of the case. It must have occurred to the learned writers above mentioned, since it was the received doctrine of the Church down to their days; and if they had disapproved it, as some theologians of no small renown have since done, it seems unlikely that they should have passed it over without some express avowal of dissent; considering that they always wrote with an eye to the pretensions of Rome also, which popular opinion had in a great degree mixed up with this doctrine of apostolical succession.

"One obvious reason, and probably the chief one, of their silence, was the relation in which they stood to the foreign Protestant congregations. The question had been mixed up with considerations of personal friendship, first, by Cranmer's connection with the Lutherans, and after King Edward's death, by the residence of Jewel, Grindal, and others at Zurich, Strasburgh, and elsewhere, in congregations which had given up the apostolical succession. Thus feelings arose, which came, insensibly, no doubt, but really and strongly, in aid of the prevailing notion that every thing was to be sacrificed to the paramount object of union among Protestants.

"To these theological sympathies with the German reformers must be added the effect of political sympathies with the imperialist party, and generally speaking with the advocates of civil interference in the Church in the several nations of Europe. Some who cared little for religion at all, and others who had no objection to the doctrines of Rome, had united nevertheless with the zealots of the new opinions in promoting changes which they considered necessary for the deliverance of their respective countries from priestly usurpation. In England, as in other countries, the leading Protestant divines had availed themselves largely of the co-operation of these numerous and powerful parties; and had occasionally committed themselves to statements and principles which would stand greatly in their way, if they ever found it requisite to assert the claims of apostolical episcopacy.

"Add to this, what the papacy itself had done, and was daily doing, to weaken all independent authority in bishops; of which policy the full development may be seen in the proceedings of the Italian party at

Trent, and their efforts to obtain an express declaration from the council, that no prelate had any power in the Church, except what he received through the successors of St. Peter. So that on the one hand a large section of the reformers had a direct interest in making light of apostolical claims; and on the other, no inconsiderable portion of the opponents of innovation were prepared beforehand to concede this point. Indeed, when we consider the joint effect of all these interests, so various in themselves, yet concurring to disparage primitive episcopacy, the wonder will be, not that apostolical claims were not advanced to the full extent by the opponents of Puritans in England, but rather that any thing like apostolical succession is left amongst us. It is, indeed, throughout modern English history, a continually recurring theme of admiration and of thankfulness.

“Should it be asked, how such accomplished divines as Jewel and others of his class undoubtedly were, could permit themselves, for any present benefit to the Church, so to waver in so capital a point, with the full evidence of antiquity before their eyes? it may be replied first of all, that in some sort they wanted that full evidence with which later generations have been favoured. The works of the fathers had not yet been critically sifted, so that in regard of almost every one of them, men were more or less embarrassed, during the whole of that age, with vague suspicions of interpolation. The effect of this is apparent in various degrees throughout the controversies of the time; but on no question would it be more felt than on this, of the apostolical succession and the frame of the visible Church: because that was a subject on which, more continually perhaps than on any other, temptations to forgery had arisen: and also because the remains of St. Ignatius in particular,—for a single writer the most decisive of all who have borne witness to apostolical principles,—were all that time under a cloud of doubt, which was providentially dispelled in the next age by the discovery of a copy* unquestionably genuine. This consideration, as it accounts (among other things) for the less stress which Hooker seems to lay on quotations from Ignatius, to us most important and decisive; so it must in the nature of things have placed his predecessors, of whom we are now speaking, under a considerable disadvantage, as compared with the writers of the following century; and in all candour should be taken into account, on the one hand by those who would take advantage of the silence of the reformers to disparage the apostolical succession; on the other hand, by the advocates of that doctrine, to prevent their judging too hastily of the reformers themselves for their comparative omission of it.

“Further, it is obvious that those divines in particular, who had been instrumental but a little before in the second change of the liturgy in King Edward's time, must have felt themselves in some measure restrained from pressing with its entire force the ecclesiastical tradition on

* By Isaac Vossius in 1646. It was discovered in the Medicean Library at Florence, and closely corresponded with the ancient Latin version previously discovered. We beg to refer our readers to the introduction of the valuable translations by the Rev. Temple Chevallier, p. xliii.—l. 1833. 8vo. where will be found all the references wanted on the subject, *e.g.* to Bishop Pearson, Ussher, Bull, &c.

church government and orders, inasmuch as in the aforesaid revision they had given up altogether the same tradition, regarding certain very material points in the celebration, if not in the doctrine, of the Holy Eucharist. It is but fair to add, that the consideration last suggested, viz. indefinite fear of interpolation in the early liturgies, may have told with equal or more force in justifying to their minds the omissions in question. This subject also since their time has been happily and satisfactorily cleared up.* But whether it were this, or extreme jealousy of practices which had been made occasion of abuse, or whatever the cause might be, the fact is unquestionable, that certain services had been abandoned, which, according to the constant witness of the remains of antiquity, had constituted an important portion of the Christian ritual: *e. g.* the solemn offering of the elements before consecration for the living and the dead, with commemoration of the latter, in certain cases, by name. It should seem that those who were responsible for these omissions must have felt themselves precluded, ever after, from urging the necessity of episcopacy, or of any thing else, on the ground of uniform Church tradition. Succeeding generations obviously need not experience the same embarrassment to the same extent; since they have only to answer for bearing with the innovation, not for introducing it.

"To all these causes of hesitation we must add the direct influence of the court, which, of course, on this, as on all similar occasions, will come strongly in aid of the Erastian principle. It is well known to what an extent prudential regards of this kind were carried by the several generations of the Anglican reformers.

"On the whole, (and the remark is made without any disrespectful thought towards them,) it was very natural for them to waive, as far as they did, the claim of exclusive divine authority in their defences of episcopal rights; nor ought their having done so to create any prejudice, in such as deservedly hold them in respect, against that claim itself.

"Lest it should be imagined that we are here conceding more than we really mean to concede regarding the views of the writers in question, two propositions are subjoined as comprising the substance of the argument by which they resisted the demands of the Puritans.

i. "The whole Church, being naturally the subject in which all ecclesiastical power resides, may have had originally the right of determining how it would be governed.

ii. "Inasmuch as the Church did determine from very early times to be governed by bishops, it cannot be right to swerve from that government in any country where the same may be maintained, consistently

* See Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*. (*Editor's note*.) We have before, more than once, adverted to the value of that work, and when we express our gratitude to Mr. Palmer, our thoughts naturally recur to the memory of the good Bishop Jebb. We are glad to see that a monument has been erected to him in the cathedral at Limerick.

"Very envy, and the tongue of loss,
Cry'd fame, and honour on him."—*Twelfth Night*.

with soundness of doctrine, and the rights of the chief magistrate, being Christian.

"This statement, of Whitgift's opinions in particular, it were easy to verify by extracts from his *Defence against Cartwright*. His object was, evidently, to maintain the episcopal system, *i. e.* the government of the Church by three orders, without at all entering on the matter of apostolical succession. Natural reason, and Church history, spoke, he thought, plainly enough. There was no occasion to settle the question, whether the charter granted by our Lord to the Twelve was granted to them and the whole Church, or to them and the heirs for ever, of their spiritual power, set apart by the laying on of their hands."—p. lviii.—lxiii.

The above extract, as we said, is long, but to those of our readers who are interested in the examination of the point at issue, it will be found extremely valuable, as will also what follows on the subject of Church government. We have not space to dilate at the end of so long an article on the supposed Erastianism of some parts of Hooker. For the real amount of his concessions to the bending of a Lesbian rule,—which it is to be borne in mind related only to points of detail,—we must refer our readers to Mr. Keble. Heartily do we wish that we had room for pp. lxxii.—lxxvii., but as we have not, we must conclude what relates to Church government with the annexed paragraphs, in themselves full long.

"If, moreover, we would fully estimate the value of Hooker's testimony in particular to the divine right of bishops, we must add the following considerations. First, that such opinions were contrary to those in which he had been brought up. For his uncle, who had the entire superintendence of his education, was an intimate friend of Peter Martyr; and, as his remains show, likely in all questions to take that side which appeared most opposite to Romish tradition. And of his tutor, Reynolds, we have already spoken; he was a leader of the Puritan cause, and no doubt did his very best to leaven such a mind as Hooker's, a mind naturally full of affectionate docility, with Genevan notions in preference to antiquity. On this particular point,—the exclusive divine right of episcopacy,—there are extant letters and remonstrances from Reynolds, occasioned by the preaching of Bancroft's sermon above mentioned, sufficient by themselves to show how deeply he was imbued with doctrines most abhorrent to those of his great pupil.

"Secondly, that may be remarked here, which must be remembered throughout in reading Hooker by those who would weigh and measure his expressions truly; *viz.* that whatever he wrote was more or less modified in the wording of it, if not in the substance, by his resolution to make the best of things as they were, and in any case to censure as rarely and as tenderly as possible what he found established by authority.

"These two feelings will account, in some good measure, for the

admission in the seventh book,* an admission which, after all we have seen, may appear somewhat anomalous; that there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination without a bishop. The excepted cases, according to Hooker, are two: first, that of a supernatural call, on which little needs now to be said, although some of the leading foreign reformers, Beza for one, were content to have it urged on their behalf; thereby, as it may seem, silently owning an instinctive mistrust about the reality of their commission. The other 'extraordinary kind of vocation is, when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep; where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes and may give place.' Here, that we may not overstrain the author's meaning, we must observe first, with what exact conditions of *extreme* necessity, *unwilling* deviation, *impossibility* of procuring a bishop to ordain, he has limited his concession.† In the next place, it is very manifest that the concession itself was inserted to meet the case of the foreign Protestants, not gathered by exercise of independent judgment from the nature of the case or the witness of antiquity. Thirdly, this was one of the instances in which, unquestionably, Hooker might feel himself biased by his respect for existing authority. For nearly up to the time when he wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination; and it appears by Travers' Supplication to the Council, that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England. If it were really the intention of that act to authorize other than episcopal ordination, it is but one proof more of the low accommodating notions concerning the Church which then prevailed: and may serve to heighten our sense of the imminent risk which we were in of losing the succession. But, however, the apparent decision of the case by high authority in church and state may account for Hooker's going rather out of his way, to signify that he did not mean to dispute that authority."—pp. lxxxv.—lxxvii.

No reader of Hooker can have failed to observe the awe with which he touched on religious subjects, more especially on the Sacraments. It was our intention to have laid before our readers collected passages on the subject of the Sacrament of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper; and by them to have shown how Hooker would have scouted the unhallowed and low notions now so current, and then budding forth from the upas-tree of the Genevan platform; but were we to do so, we should not, we

* Chap. xiv. p. 11.

† See what Le Bas says concerning "that golden chain of succession which is bound unto the bench of the apostles" in his excellent sermon at the consecration of the Bishop of Chichester, p. 27.

imagine, speak so effectually as by quoting Mr. Keble's own words. We do so, therefore, with unfeigned pleasure, laying by our own collections. The fact is, that we have not lately seen any pages so filled with primitive reverence for things divine (unless we except Mr. Newman's excellent Sermons*) as the editor's Preface to Hooker, and this we would again and again impress upon our readers for good. Here are no *uncupia verborum et literarum tendicula*,—no glittering sentences, nothing for effect,—but for that “fit audience, though few,” who rejoice to follow in the steps of time-honoured and faithful antiquity,

“di sua bocca usciano
Più che mel dolce d' eloquenza i fiumi.”

On the subject of the Sacraments, then, we entreat our readers to consider what follows, and to imbibe the spirit of it.

“But not only does this great writer with religious horror disavow the Zuinglian notion, that the Sacraments are only valid as moral aids to piety; he is also very full and precise in guarding against another theory, less malignant, but hardly less erroneous and unscriptural (though unhappily too much countenanced in later days)—the theory which denies, not indeed the *reality*, but the *exclusive* virtue, of the Sacraments, as ordinary means to their respective graces. He hesitates not to teach, with the old Christian writers, that Baptism is the *only* ordinary mean of regeneration, the Eucharist the *only* ordinary mean whereby Christ's body and blood can be taken and received. He is far from sanctioning the too prevalent idea, that every holy prayer and devout meditation renders the faithful soul a partaker of Christ, in the same sense that his own divine sacrament does. His words concerning Baptism are: † ‘As we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new born, but by that Baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians.’ Concerning the Eucharist and Baptism both: ‘It is not ordinarily his will to bestow the grace of Sacraments on any, but by the Sacraments.’ ‡ He expounds the awful declarations in the sixth chapter of St. John, without all controversy, of that heavenly Feast; considering our Saviour to have spoken by anticipation of what he meant ere long to ordain. A mode of interpretation the more remarkable on Hooker's part, as in embracing it he was contradicting an authority which he held in most especial reverence; that of his own early patron, Bishop Jewel, whom

* See more especially sermon xiii. with note in the Appendix, vol. ii. and sermons xix., xx. in vol. iii. Nothing could be well more seasonable than the publication of these volumes. If we could wish the one on Abraham and Lot modified, we should do so, seeking for instruction. But enough has already been said about it.

† Editor's Preface, v. lx.

‡ See notes; what the editor says of the Rubric annexed to the Office for Communion of the Sick is, as we believe, just and true.

he designates as 'the worthiest divine which Christendom hath bred by the space of some hundreds of years.'*

"The opinions we form on the Sacraments are sure to mingle, insensibly, perhaps, to ourselves, with our views of every part of practical religion. Hooker's judgment on the reality and exclusiveness of the spiritual grace of Baptism and the Lord's Supper being thus distinct and unquestionable, we are prepared to find him speaking of Church ceremonies in general, and of every part and instrument of communion with the visible church, in a very different manner from that which now commonly prevails. More especially in regard of those observances which, though not strictly Sacraments, according to the more precise definition of the word, have yet in them somewhat of a sacramental nature, and were ever accounted, in the early Church, means towards several graces. Take for example the sign of the cross in Baptism.† He dwells, indeed, much on its use by way of instruction; whether 'to put us in mind of our own duty, or to be a memorial, sign, or monument of God's miraculous goodness towards us;' which is much the same definition as a rationalist would give of Baptism or of the Eucharist itself. But Hooker has other expressions, which imply that for aught we know it may be more than this. He calls the cross, 'in some sense a mean to work our preservation from reproach.' He likens it to God's mark set on the forehead of his chosen in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel. He approves the custom adopted by the primitive Christians, of referring to it, as they did, by constant crossing whenever their baptismal integrity was in danger, and refreshing it, as it were, and furnishing it up in those foreheads in which it had been impressed as God's own signature at Baptism. In other words, he makes it one among many things, which may be, if God so please, supernaturally as well as morally means of grace; and what more would Zuinglius or Hoadly have allowed concerning the blessed Eucharist itself?‡

"Again, to imposition of hands in Confirmation, in receiving penitents, or in other solemn acts of blessing, he scruples not to attribute the same virtue which the fathers everywhere acknowledge. 'Our warrant,' he says, 'for the great good effect thereof is the same which patriarchs, prophets, priests, apostles, fathers, and men of God have had for such their particular invocations and benedictions, as no man, I suppose, professing truth of religion, will easily think to have been without fruit.'

"In respect, therefore, of these things, which (to use Hooker's own expression,) though not Sacraments, are *as* Sacraments, and which, perhaps, it might not be amiss to denominate *sacramentals*, it will be

* Editor's Preface, ii. vi. 4. We omit what next occurs relative to Jewel for want of space, and because Mr. Keble's remarks are not broken by the omission.

† Editor's Preface, v. lxxv.

‡ We who transcribe these words grieve to say that at a foreign table (is it not so at home too?) we have heard the holy Sacrament of Baptism spoken of in a way that made us miserable. The occasion was the haste of a French nurse to baptize a sickly infant. The words of the "Soudanesse" in Chaucer were not a whit more profane,

"We shal first feine us Christendom to take;
Cold water shall not greve us but a lite."

§ Editor's Preface, v. lxxvi. 7.

seen that Hooker, liberal as he is sometimes accounted, was at least as far from proud and faithless indifference as he was from irrational superstition. Even of those parts of the ancient ritual which he dared not wish to restore, he makes mention in such a tone as to show that he deeply lamented the necessity of parting with them.* He compares them to the rank growth of over-fertile grounds; he acknowledges that although 'now superstitions in the greater part of the Christian world,' yet in their first original they sprang from 'the strength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection,' and 'could not by any man be justly condemned as evil.' In a word, his language regarding them comes to this: that the Church is fallen and become unworthy of them, instead of their being in themselves unmeet for the Church.

"Nor can such sentiments on his part be summarily disposed of by calling them 'errors of the day;' 'relics of Romanism not yet thoroughly purged out.' For, as we have had occasion more than once to remark, Hooker's bias by education and society, the bias 'of the day,' as it was likely to influence him, lay quite on the other side. Every sentiment like that just quoted, was a return to something which had grown out of fashion, an attempt, if the expression may be allowed, to 'lock the wheel' of extreme innovation. It is certain that the divines most approved in Hooker's time, go far beyond him in a seeming willingness to explain away every thing of deeper meaning in Church services. The common topics of Jewel, for example, and Cranmer, when they treat of ceremonies, are the supposed origination of some of them from heathen or Jewish customs, or from mere† childish fancy; the absolute indifference even of those which are more properly Christian; and the arbitrary power of national churches over them, which they press, not in the guarded tone of our thirty-fourth article, but without any kind of scruple or remorse. We nowhere find in the Ecclesiastical Polity such contemptuous mention of the old usages of the Church, as in that writer, who being asked by a Romanist, how he could prove from St. Augustine, that altars might be pulled down, and vows of poverty disallowed, as also the keeping of Lent and the use of consecrated oil, made this short reply, 'His altars, his vows, his Lents, and his oils, he answered sufficiently otherwheres.' How different from Hooker, who earnestly bespeaks our reverence for primitive ordinances, not only 'as betokening God's greatness and beseeching the dignity of religion,' but also 'as concurring with celestial impressions on the minds of men;' a phrase which implies that such ordinances may be real means of sundry graces, though not of those vital graces which are appropriate to the two blessed Sacraments; nor of any graces, *certainly*, or by virtue of express promise.

"But the truth is, Hooker's notion of ceremonies appears to have been the legitimate result of a certain high and rare course of thought,

* Let the reader compare with this the feeling remarks of that good and amiable man, and excellent divine, the late Dr. Edward Burton, on the disputed text of St. John, (1 Epist. v. 7.) Bampton Lectures, p. 523, note 85.

† See the second part of the Homily on Fasting as to what is said about the "maintaining of fishermen bordering upon the seas, and for the increase of fishermen," p. 267, ed. 8vo. 1822. Mr. Keble has alluded to this elsewhere.

into which deep study of Christian antiquity would naturally guide a devout and reflective mind. The moral and devotional writings of the fathers show that they were deeply imbued with the evangelical sentiment, that Christians as such are living in a new heaven and a new earth; that to them 'old things are passed away,' and 'all things are become new;' that the very inanimate creation * itself also is delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Thus in a manner they seem to have realized, though in an infinitely higher sense, the system of Plato; everything to them existed in two worlds; in the world of sense, according to its outward nature and relations; in the world intellectual, according to its spiritual associations. And thus did the whole scheme of material things, and especially those objects in it which are consecrated by scriptural allusion, assume in their eyes a sacramental or symbolical character."—p. lxxxiv.—lxxxix.

These, certainly, are very sober and devout words, and redolent of Christian antiquity. We hardly know how they will be received by some; but this we know, that they are such as rejoice the heart. They touch our spirits, as it were, with a coal from the altar. There follows much like to this in the following pages of the Preface; but we have no room for it. Neither have we space to refer to Hooker's thoughts on the Festival days, on the Sunday, and on that portion of our substance,—of our basket and of our store,—which is due unto the Lord. In his judgment, (and who shall gainsay it?) "a tenth of our substance, no less than a seventh of our time, is part of the grand sacrifice which we all owe to God continually, and the payment whereof is the great business of our lives." However, though we cannot stop to dwell upon these points, nor upon the fearful sin of sacrilege, property acquired by which, to use a common expression in our old divines, like the eagle's or the ostrich's feather eats out all the other feathers around it, we do, nevertheless, earnestly call upon our readers to consider it; and to offer up a prayer for all sacrilegious and impious politicians, who would pull down the revenues of a Church to build a dog-kennel; and above all, *to look to themselves and to their ministry*, lest, though they do not take, they should *withhold more than is meet*. It is a tremendous saying of South's, but still one quite borne out by Scripture, that the man who is devoured by the *βελμία* of covetousness, "is a pest and a monster; greedier than the sea, and barrenner than the shore; a scandal to religion, and an exception from common humanity; and upon no other account fit to live on this world, but to be made an example of God's justice in the next."†

* If in these and the like words following any of our readers should imagine they see anything of the Hutchinsonian system, as it has been called, those who know anything about it, will see what Bishop Horne, and Jones of Nayland, turned to good use. See Jones of Nayland's *Life of Bishop Horne*. Works, vol. vi.

† See Sermons on Luke, xii. 15, vol. iii. p. 304. Ed. Clar.

Our last extract is of much consequence,— we mean Hooker's sentiments on the Covenant of Grace, which follow, and his view of Justification compared with Bishop Bull's.

"On Hooker's doctrine concerning the Covenant of Grace, a very few words must here suffice. His compositions on that subject are mostly of an early date, when, as has been exemplified, he hardly seems to have acquired the independence of thought which appears in the *Polity*. And the writer to whose interpretations he had been taught to refer most constantly, and with deepest reverence, undoubtedly was St. Austin. In treating of Justification his great care was, of course, to exclude all notion of merit; of merit, *i. e.* as ground of dependence, not as a qualification for supernatural blessings, divinely given to the baptized as members of Christ, for in that sense he allows himself the name, and hints no ambiguous answer on the affectation of shrinking from it, sanctioned as it is by the constant use of antiquity.* The exclusion of our own desert he represents, as many writers before and since have done, by the things which Christ did and suffered being imputed † to us for righteousness; and in this sense earnestly presses against the schoolmen and the council of Trent, that justifying righteousness is not inherent. But whilst he thus separates justification from sanctification *in re*, he is careful (plainly with an eye to Antinomian abuse) to maintain that the two are always united *in tempore*. 'The Spirit, the virtues of the Spirit, the habitual justice, which is engrafted, the external justice of Jesus Christ which is imputed, these we receive at one and the same time; whensoever we have any of these, we have all; they go together.'‡ He allows that the word *justification* is sometimes used (*e. g.* by St. James,) as to imply sanctification also; that in this sense we are justified by works and not by faith only; and that this is essential, and inseparable, as a result and evidence of the former; so that however §

173 'by the one we are interested in the right of inheriting,' yet without the other we must not look to be 'brought to the actual possession.' On the whole, the differences, which at first sight would appear considerable, between that of Hooker's teaching and that of Bishop Bull on this subject, will be found on examination rather verbal than doctrinal; turning upon their use of certain modes of expression, and upon their interpreta-

* Editor's Preface, v. 72, 9. "I will not dispute whether truly it may not be said, that penitent both weeping and fasting are means to blot out sin, means whereby, through God's unspeakable and undeserved mercy, we obtain, or procure to ourselves, pardon, which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him bestowed the phrase of antiquity useth to express by the name of merit." Comp. Discourse of Justification, § 21. (*Editor's note*.)

† South's words deserve to be well impressed on the minds of many who speak of the sense of the word λογίζομαι. "Though the righteousness of Christ be imputed to us, yet it renders not a good life on our part needless, since this is made the very condition of that imputation. That is, if we fill the measures of sincerity, in doing the utmost that we are able, Christ's righteousness shall be imputed to us for justification, notwithstanding our failing in many things, which by reason of the infirmities of our nature, we have not done. Thus, therefore, the imputation of Christ's righteousness is suspended upon a man's own personal righteousness, as its necessary antecedent condition."—Vol. v. p. 86. See also Scougal in Bishop Jebb's *Protestant Kempis*, p. 55.

‡ Discourse of Justification, § 21.

§ Id. § 6.

tion of particular texts, rather than on their conceptions of the process itself, and order of divine mercy in the salvation of sinners. Hooker, for instance, adopts without scruple the phrase of Christ's imputed righteousness; which Bull disavows and argues against as unscriptural. Hooker again reconciles St. James with St. Paul by making the one speak of the righteousness of justification, the other that of sanctification; a distinction which seems to correspond nearly with the first and second justification of some other Protestant commentators, and is disapproved by Bull, whose mode of harmonizing the two apostles, is to show that the works rejected by St. Paul are not Christian works,—not those required by St James,—but that these on the contrary are included in St. Paul's faith; as all right principles include and imply corresponding practice when occasion arises.* But since Hooker on the one hand makes the two justifications which he insists on inseparable and contemporaneous; and Bull, on the other, disclaims with all possible earnestness, all notion of condignity, in faith alike and in works, and in every thing else that is ours; it should seem that, really and practically, there is no such great difference between them.”—pp. xcvi. xcix.

Thus have we endeavoured carefully to lay before our readers the history of Hooker's immortal publications; and we have chosen throughout to follow the elaborate Preface of Mr. Keble, than which nothing more valuable, more purely orthodox, more serviceable in the present exigency, has come before us on the points to which it refers. Heartily do we join with him in the wish that the republication of that great and good man's remains may make them, “in certain respects, more accessible, and cause them to be more generally read.” And, surely, if in his time it was necessary to lift up such a voice as he did, in ours it is so also. If Rationalism and Neologism be ebbing in Germany, the back-flood is sadly beating against us. The departing from holy opinions of old,—from what was the established faith of fathers and confessors, and of the noble army of martyrs,—the dereliction of sacramental truths, and the taking up of what Jeremy Taylor calls “unsacramental thoughts,”—these, and like innovations, working in us deadly and paralytic notions concerning received truths, have left ourselves open to the despiteful usage of every *fluctus decumanus* loaded with the surf of false doctrine, and the mire and dirt cast up from the depths of a troubled sea.

“Nonne vides, ut
Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo,
Antennæque gemant? ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinæ
Possint imperiosius
Æquor?”—

* We well recollect the late Bishop Lloyd using the same mode of reconciliation in his private lectures, and referring to Aristotle's *Προαιρεσις*.

Bold, indeed, as Mr. Keble says, would that man be who should affirm that great as was the need of such a defender of the Church and her ordinances, when Hooker arose, "it at all exceeded her peril from the same quarter at the present moment," No! the Church is attacked on every side; and her danger is not a whit the less from the openly ungodly and profane, than from those who ask after her health, and then insidiously smite her under the fifth rib. Therefore, let us not be heedless, like Amasa, but observant of the sword that is in Joab's hand. Let us take a warning from the foreboding passages to be found in Hooker and in Jackson, and other of our old divines, who looked warily to the cloud fraught, not with refreshing rain, but with storm and tempest, though it were no bigger than a man's hand. Let us do this in sure confidence and faith unfeigned, with Nehemiah's prayer, *Now, Lord, strengthen our hands*; and then, come foul, come fair, *We wait for thy loving-kindness, O God, in the midst of thy temple*; and *God will save Sion and build the cities of Judah, that men may dwell there and have it in possession. The posterity also of thy servants shall inherit it, and they that love his name shall dwell therein.**

Let then Hooker's works be considered, and weighed, and studied in this light, "as a kind of warning voice from antiquity, a treasure of primitive catholic maxims and sentiments, seasonably provided for this Church." Let this be done with the Bible in our right hands, with the faith and the truth as it is in Jesus on our hearts, and then we cannot greatly fall. But to those who forget antiquity, and lay hands upon orthodoxal truths only to pull them down,—to those who would wrest Hooker's meaning to senses he never thought of,—we suggest the lines following for their consideration, and conclude,

"So should an idiot, while at large he strays,
Find the sweet lyre on which an artist plays,
With rash and awkward force the chords he shakes,
And grins with wonder at the jar he makes;
But let the wise and well instructed hand,
Once take the shell beneath his just command,
In gentle sounds it seems as it complained
Of the rude injuries it late sustained;
Till tuned at length to some immortal song,
It sounds Jehovah's name, and pours his praise along."

* Psalm xlviii. 8; lxix. 36, 37.

ART. IV.—*Christian Institutes: A Series of Discourses and Tracts, selected, arranged systematically, and illustrated with Notes.* By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Buxted with Uckfield, Sussex. London: Rivingtons, 1837. 4 vols. 8vo.

A DETAILED criticism of these four volumes is impossible, for it would be interminable. It would not be an examination of one modern effort, so much as a retrospective review of many of the most famous productions of by-gone centuries. It would not be—if we may be allowed the metaphor—an inquiry into the merits of a single picture now exhibited for the first time, so much as a survey of a long and splendid gallery, where the best works of the old masters hang upon the walls.

In a most interesting preface, to which we shall have occasion to refer, Dr. Wordsworth has given us a brief and perspicuous view of the nature of his labours, and the order which he has adopted.

“If the reader will turn to the table of contents, he will there see that the *first* volume is dedicated to *three* main subjects: the Evidences of Natural and of Revealed Religion; the Principles of Natural Law in general, and of Moral Philosophy in particular; and thirdly, to a systematic development of the several main doctrines of Revealed Religion. Again, he is requested to notice, that, on account of the pre-eminent importance of the subject, that last division—the *doctrines* of revelation—is resumed in the *second* volume; retraced, and further prosecuted in other larger, more copious, and more elaborate discourses (many of them from the pen of Dr. Isaac Barrow,) on the main articles of the Creed, and on other principal topics of Christianity; and thus this volume supplies a very valuable additional store of instruction and exhortation, falling somewhat less short of the supreme dignity of the subject, on man’s duties to his Maker, to his fellow-creatures, and to himself.

“Having thus far considered man principally in his mere individual and social capacity, and scarcely at all in his next high condition, as the subject of dominion, whether civil or ecclesiastical, these further relations, therefore, supply the argument and materials for the *third* volume; which thus comprises the nature and principles of civil and of ecclesiastical polity, and of the duties of men considered both as citizens and as Churchmen. Then, so much having been thus far said in regard to the Christian, his relations and incidents, both as an individual and in his collective capacity, as a member of a community, which is at once civil and ecclesiastical, and requires to be maturely considered under both aspects,—that volume, in the end, closes with Barrow’s ‘Sermons on Universal Redemption;’ because they bear upon a subject deeply interesting to every reflecting mind,—the con-

dition and prospects of the world that is not Christian, the unconverted Heathen, the nations that are still Gentile, having the same God for their Father with ourselves—but yet strangers and aliens from the grace of Christ, and from the communion of that Spirit, which is with the Father, and the Son, One God, blessed for ever!

“The *fourth* volume is devoted to Polemical Theology.

“Some, perhaps, will be of opinion, that, in regard to the season of life for which the work is principally intended, much, or the whole of this division might have been spared; and I was myself, likewise, not without some wishes that it could have been so. But a very little reflection, I think, will convince that the forbearance was impossible. When bad men (and bad influences) conspire, then, as it is said, it is high time that good men and good influences should associate. Seldom is it so well with the world, and more especially in a free country like England, that even young minds shall not be assailed on every side by powers calculated to disturb the just balance of their minds, in topics religious as well as political. If we would caution them to shut their eyes and close their ears, to assaults of this kind from misrepresentation, and sophistry, and falsehood; to the contagion of passion and party-spirit; to intemperance, and injustice, and malignity,—the advice may be in part judicious, and every way well-intended, but the thing itself which we enjoin is a sheer impossibility. On arguments, then, of the strongest necessity, it is requisite that the youthful mind have the opportunity, in the main controversies of religion, (and the same is true of government,) of resorting, for help and stability, to reason, and antiquity, and Scripture, as embodied and set forth in the writings of some of their approved champions, God's best instruments of His choicest benefits to mankind.”—pp. xvii.—xix.

Proceeding upon this plan, Dr. Wordsworth has, we think, furnished us with a work, as honourable to himself, and calculated to be even more useful to this and future generations, than his *Ecclesiastical Biography*. The notes are varied, copious, and extremely valuable; and serve oftentimes as connecting links between the several treatises. The method and arrangement too are admirable: for the dissertations are placed in such manner and sequence as to impart a kind of unity and continuity to the whole work, and form one mighty argument in defence of Christian truth. A foolish caviller may say, that these four volumes are but a compilation after all. Be it so: but we need scarcely add, that there is required a vast deal more of original ability as well as acquired learning for gathering and systematically exhibiting a compilation such as this, than for composing sundry popular and applauded publications, which we might specify in a breath, pretending to novelty without possessing it, overflowing with the prodigality of words, but destitute of depth, or reach, or accuracy of thought. One, and not the least, of the improvements which have been lately effected in the metropolis, has

been to remove those mean and unworthy erections, which obscured the view of some of its noblest specimens of sacred architecture. St. Bride's, for instance, and St. Martin's existed; for they were not so formed as soon to perish: but they were almost unseen behind a cluster of frail and wretched tenements, which at once concealed and dishonoured them. Dr. Wordsworth has done something with respect to the literature of our Church analogous to what has been done with respect to its temples. He has not indeed taken down—for neither he, nor any man, could take down—the comparatively worthless constructions of recent date, which have started up like mushrooms in autumn, and been placed in front of the finest edifices of theological wisdom and erudition: but he has brought these edifices once more forward, and thus thrown the others into the back-ground: a fate, which, in their case, may be almost equivalent to being cleared away. For ourselves, at least, gladly do we turn from many ephemeral creations, lasting but a day, and almost done in a day, hastily framed, and as hastily forgotten, to these permanent and imperishable productions of standard and sterling worth. For the venerable monuments, in honour of our religion, which Dr. Wordsworth has placed more prominently before our eyes, are neither sordid and unsightly things, nor flimsy things formed of slight materials, run up with a tinsel gaudiness of external decoration: but, with their solemn aspect, with their spacious and regular apartments, they are formed of solid timbers, and stones aptly fitted and cemented together, destined to endure for ages, and to withstand the fiercest vicissitudes of time and chance.

But more:—in showing young men, and religious students in general, not merely what works they should read, but in what order and connection they should read them, so as not to rest contented with picking up a detached, fragmentary, miscellaneous congeries of information, by fits and starts, in scraps and patches;—but to infix in their minds a compact, harmonized, well-arranged, and well-proportioned body of knowledge, both as to the doctrines and duties of religion, and as to the main principles of ecclesiastical economy—in doing this, Dr. Wordsworth has done another and an incalculable good.

Still another inestimable service, for which we are indebted to Dr. Wordsworth, is not merely,—if we may quote from him the words of Bishop Butler—"by laying the evidence of religion before men without an air of controversy;" but also by showing to us the true position of the Anglican Church, and by putting on their right grounds the disputed questions, as they regard either the Papist, or the Protestant Dissenter. For we hesitate

not to affirm, that, in this the highest department, the theoretical and practical wisdom of mankind has not been progressive; and, if we would form a just estimate of our Church, of its doctrines, of its polity, of all its great and harmonized characteristics, we must have recourse to those ancient writers, whose views, we apprehend, were, for the most part, sounder and more generous than those of the existing generation; although we have had the light of their example to guide us, and the benefit of further experience, and continual accessions of that historical testimony, which, with respect to the most momentous of ecclesiastical concerns, has always told the same tale, and whose voice in one age is little more than the echo of its voice of another.

In truth, as so many of the illustrious dead are brought again before us, we almost seem to behold a long procession of revered and majestic forms, or to come suddenly into the presence of an august senate, composed of the most learned and most excellent of former times. We cannot go through the whole catalogue of authors, some of whose writings are exhibited to us in this treasure-house of sound theology. But it is indeed a high privilege, if this age could but appreciate it, to become familiarized, at once and in connection, with the magnificent mind of Jewel—the Christian wisdom of Hooker, pure as the unadulterated gold—the deep sagacity, the comprehensive research, the clear logic, and the exhaustless fancy of Barrow—the rich eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, which sometimes unites the best of poetry with the best of prose, and is like a gorgeous piece of tapestry, where the materials are worthy of the embroidery, and the embroidery of the materials—the powerful acuteness of Chillingworth—the dialectic ingenuity of Bishop Sanderson, who made the utmost skill in casuistry subservient to the honest investigation of truth—the wit, and erudition, and vast talents of South, undistinguished in his better parts by the rudeness, the coarseness, and the polemical scurrility, in which he sometimes indulged—the philosophical profoundness of Butler, unrivalled among professed philosophers—the terse vigour of Horsley, crushing, as with a ponderous mace, the adversaries of religion; or, if we turn from divines to laymen, with the interesting and admirable pages of Sir Edwin Sandys—the sententious and stately copiousness of Lord Clarendon—the axiomatic but simple beauty of Lord Bacon's Essays, as full of attractiveness as of instruction—and the soul-animating words of Edmund Burke, which, in days not altogether dissimilar from our own, fell upon the ear of England like a trumpet, and upon its heart like a spell. It is, we repeat, a glorious and exalted privilege to hold communion with such minds; and, from our very souls, we pity the man who could

hold that communion without edification and delight. For these may be called the foremost champions of the Anglican Church: nor could any compilation of religious truth and knowledge be at all complete or adequate without them. But Dr. Wordsworth does not stop here. Orthodox as he is, he has not made his selections in a narrow and illiberal spirit,—and indeed the real spirit of orthodoxy is never narrow or illiberal;—but he has also had recourse to the pious and solemn earnestness of the non-conformist, Richard Baxter;—taking, however, the editorial liberty of venturing upon some omissions, rather than alterations, in his pages.

Having said thus much of the compilation itself, in a spirit not of idle compliment, but of the heartiest sincerity, we would now go back for a moment to the preface, which is full of instructive and important matter, and conveys some most salutary truths in a style of calm, solid, masculine impressiveness, equally befitting the station of the writer, and the unspeakable moment of the subjects which he treats. The cardinal topic,—and it is one, as we shall see, intimately connected with the design of the present work,—is the amount, the manner, and the time, in which instruction ought to be communicated to the youths of England at the Universities in the theological department. In the matter of clerical, or rather theological education, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Master of the Temple, Dr. Dealtry, and, more recently, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Church Commissioners, have evinced a profound and vivid interest. Nor have their exertions been in vain; nor is the country unthankful for them. Much, indeed, has been wanting, though, happily, schemes for supplying deficiencies are now in progress. We quite believe, that in several respects self-education is the best and most effective of all: but there are not many, at any period, who will, or can, educate themselves: and yet hundreds there are, who are now beginning to look back from middle age, and from necessity, perhaps, to gather scraps of things at scraps of time, to give a fatigued, divided, overtasked attention to points which they should have learnt before, instead of having been able to devote to them the undisturbed yet eager pursuit of fresh, unblighted, undisappointed youth. May we, therefore, be allowed to say to every student at either University, and to every candidate for holy orders at the present day,—“appreciate and cultivate your opportunities, throw not away the greater and brighter advantages which you possess; *“melioribus UTERE fatis.”*”

Among the men who have done and are doing much to procure these advantages, Dr. Wordsworth has taken his post in the van.

And who, we might well ask, could speak better on such a subject? or who has a better right to speak?—not merely as a conspicuous member of a family, in which the highest ability seems to be at once general and hereditary;—or as personally distinguished by a very large share of experience and knowledge; but also as the head of an illustrious and venerable society, by which—if we may venture to pay a humble tribute of homage to one University without sacrificing a particle of our affection and admiration for another—by which the empire itself is dignified and adorned,—second to none, in Europe, or throughout the world, in literature, in science, in the finest and most exalted kinds of intellectual eminence,—the nurse of Newton, and Bacon, and Coke, and Dryden, and Bentley, ranking even now among her sons men worthy to succeed them, and never, in all its glorious annals, more flourishing than under Dr. Wordsworth's superintendence. It is no wonder, therefore, that Dr. Wordsworth treats of Theological tuition at our academical seats of learning, both with the greatest earnestness, and likewise with the greatest prudence and moderation. He asserts, and we think with perfect justice, that education at the Universities, at least in the under-graduate course, must be for the most part *general* and not *professional*, *beneficial* to all, and not *peculiar* to any. But it is safest to employ his own words, which we are not likely to improve.

“It is well known, that our English universities undertake to conduct their youth, for the principal part of their ordinary residence, that is, during the whole of their under-graduate condition, through a scheme of instruction, comprising certain proportions of those three several grand departments which I have mentioned, Polite Literature, the abstract and mixed Sciences, and Theology; and it is known also, to be a further characteristic of our scheme, that this one and the same course is required to be prosecuted *in common*, according to their respective capacities and means, by *all* our students. These will, it is obvious, differ greatly one from another in the degree of their success; but the same three kinds of proficiency are required, and put to the proof in all. For myself, I confess, I am decidedly of opinion, that in this last characteristic, a great part of our strength, and of our public uses consists: though this is not the place for manifesting, as, I think, might be manifested, the suitableness of such a state of things to an elementary course of intellectual exercise; its conformity to the dictates of an enlightened philosophy, and to the genius and character of Christianity itself, rightly understood; and finally, to the entire frame of society subsisting in this country, and to the genuine principles, and the urgent necessities, of our free constitution both in Church and State, grounded as they are on the joint foundation of that Christianity and that philosophy.

“This recognized plan of operations forbids consequently the predominance of any of the three departments enumerated, in such a

degree, (even to any particular class of our students, and much more so, if to them all,) as to engross and usurp upon the legitimate rights of either, or both, of the other two.”—pp. vii. viii.

With respect to Theological instruction, he adds,

“ True it is, that something more has been effected of this kind, of late years, than was the case formerly ; and more, it is presumed, will be established ere long, throughout the University at large ; seeing that much more is already in active operation in several of the particular Colleges. At the same time, it must be confessed, that any thing of this kind will fall greatly short of its proper efficiency, till the University herself, by her own general fiat, speaking for one and all, shall authenticate what ought to be done, and gather it up into one consistent whole, so giving it to act with that high prevailing sanction and encouragement, which it seems to have reason to expect at her hands.”—pp. viii. ix.

On this head, in fact, all are agreed.

“ The main differences of opinion, which for some time have existed, and will probably continue to do so, till the University has settled the point for herself, appear to attach to the *time* when, and the *place* where, and the special *classes* in respect of which, the endeavours after improvement ought mainly to be exerted. For myself, much reflexion has long convinced me of the truth equally of two positions ; the bare mention of which will go far towards unfolding the judgments to which I incline, and the course of proceeding which I should rejoice to see undertaken, in this not very easy, and yet very momentous subject. First, then, I think, that something—not a great deal (nothing more indeed, than is already required in some of the individual colleges,)—something ought to be enacted and insisted on under this head, as subject-matter for the regular employment of *all* our students, *during* their under-graduate years. And secondly, I am equally convinced, that much of this nature neither *can*, nor *ought* to be reserved, till *after* that under-graduate season,—so, I mean, as to be carried on here, prosecuted within our own walls, and conducted by the University itself ; excepting always, in the case of such, confessedly in the highest degree important, but, in point of numbers, comparatively diminutive portion, as shall have occasion to prolong their stay, as members on the foundation, connected with the education of the place, or otherwise engaged officially by the University itself, or the particular societies to which they respectively belong. Even for Clerical Students, after their first degree, (such as are exclusive of those portions of which I have last spoken,) circumstanced as *they* are,—the University, circumstanced as *it* is, is not the place where their sacred studies now *are*, nor will it easily be made the place where in future they *can be*, for any considerable numbers, long, or beneficially prosecuted. In fact, therefore, and with a view, not to speculation, but to real practical and practicable results, in my judgment, (at least till many other things are accomplished for us, more to be desired than expected,) the place and time to be specially sought for, is, in no small

degree, different from both those which have been hitherto noticed; and there is, I think, one single consideration which of itself serves very far to show *where* and *when* the proper place and time ought to be found. When once it is borne in mind, that the age at which the great bulk of our students now come to reside amongst us is not less than that of eighteen or nineteen years, surely not a little may be expected from them even in that department also of which we are now more particularly speaking. They assuredly themselves, and they who care most anxiously for them, and all others likewise whom it shall concern, may well bear to be told, that we have a right to require at their hands, in all departments, and therefore in this, much more than could be fairly looked for in former days, when the season of academic life commenced habitually earlier by a space of not less than two, three, or four years, than it now commonly does, at least in this University; so that, in a word, great numbers of our Freshmen are more of men now, in point of years, (ought they not therefore to bring with them correspondingly greater proportions of other endowments?) than the Bachelor of Arts himself was in ancient days. The stress, therefore, of which we speak, must begin to be applied seriously and effectually at an earlier period than either of those which have been yet adverted to. Its foundations ought to be well and solidly laid, even from very early years, at home and at school; in other cases, with the private tutor; and in others still under the parental roof. Let this have been secured antecedently as it ought; let the University ascertain at the beginning, as a previous condition and requisite, that it has been done; let her cherish carefully, and retrace, and recapitulate, and carry on somewhat further, all that has been thus well begun; and so, at length, this whole momentous concern will stand very much in that precise place and condition which it ought."—pp. ix. x. xi.

These sentiments appear to us as just in themselves, as they are temperately and yet forcibly propounded. It is most satisfactory, therefore, to know that more attention is paid, than in former years, to religious observances and religious worship in private families; and moreover, that in our public schools,—in many of them at least, if not in all,—there are to be found, on a gradually increasing scale, both instruction and examination in Christian Theology. Dr. Wordsworth, however, is far from leaving the whole task to the parent and the schoolmaster. For he emphatically says,

"However all this shall be, whatever is the duty, and whatever may be the performances of others in schools or elsewhere, certain it is, that we ourselves must bear our own burden; and feeling, as we do, exceedingly anxious for the particular kind of help and co-operation of which we have spoken, it is, to say the least, quite as much our concern, to see that all be right as respects ourselves. It will not avail to bind heavy burdens, and lay them on other men's shoulders, when we ourselves will not touch them with one of our fingers. Wherefore we must settle it as beyond dispute, that at all events,

sooner or later, (though soonest is much the best,) here or elsewhere ; if not before, *at least* here, the necessary work of which we have spoken must be done. If we advert to the vast numbers that resort to us, year after year, the season in life at which they come, the different ranks and classes of society from which they spring,—varying one among another, but all agreeing in being such as have the most extensive influences on the public welfare ; and constituting therefore, together, in their combination and sum total, an aggregate amount of inestimable importance and concern ;—how is it possible not to feel deeply on this subject ; not to feel, that, under such circumstances, any thing like a suspension or postponement of the most momentous of all institution, must, in despite of whatever other pretensions and claims, be censurable in the extreme. No ! In the first place, whatever it is that has been gained elsewhere, be it much or little, must, as respects the *place*, be favourably entertained, protected from damage and loss, and furthered and promoted *here*. And the next consideration, of incalculable importance likewise, is, that, as respects the *time*, it must be effected *now* ; that is, solemnly beginning with the opening, never forgotten during the progress, and as solemnly closing with the end of the under-graduate season,—for hereafter will be too late a day ;—and if it be put off till that more ‘ convenient season ’ hereafter, for which some plead to have it reserved, need we say more in confutation of such a scheme than this, which is certain, that in such case, it will never be done at all ? Even for those who are designed for the Clerical profession, who *may* perhaps have time, and certainly will have calls of duty for theological study in after years ; yet, even as respects these, shall the University seek by all her endeavours to immerse them for three or four years of the most critical and momentous season of their whole life, only in scientific and literary pursuits and cares ; suffering, so far as she is concerned, a deliquium and trance, a suspension and oblivion, an alienation and distraction of the mind, from the converse and intercommunion with high and heavenly things ; purposing, no doubt instead, to send them, when the time shall arise,—to send them to find their places as little children among the lower forms in the schools of the prophets, when their necks are already stiffened, and their hearts beaten and hardened in every other school ? The case then, I think, admits of no dispute, even with regard to these. But, in respect to all other classes, it is still more unquestionable. The lawyer, the physician, the soldier, the country gentleman, the man of rank, the legislator, the statesman—when and where shall they severally get the timely and solid foundations of all this knowledge, and all the mighty strength and blessing that comes by it ; when and where shall they contract the bent and bias, the taste and love for it, which shall go along with them through life to their own incalculable benefit, and that of all they love,—their family, their friends, their neighbourhood and their country,—and gather strength with increasing years, and never leave them, whether in life or death ; where shall they get it, if not *here* and *now* ? Hereafter, as I have said, in the great bulk of all these cases, will prove too late a day.”—pp. xiii. xiv.

Dr. Wordsworth subjoins some other observations on this point, and then leads us to see, by a beautiful development of his ideas, how his present undertaking is linked with all his thoughts and labours for the honour of the Universities, the good of the rising generation, and the furtherance of religious knowledge.

"This knowledge, of which we speak, is indispensable to all; whatever other attainments are or are not present, this must never be wanting. It is the leaven which must season the whole lump. It will be at our peril, therefore, that whether individually for ourselves, or ministerially and collectively in respect of others, we slight, or supersede, or neglect this one thing needful. All that are under our care, have rights by birth, and franchises through covenant from heaven, in the possession of which it is our duty to protect them, to enlighten them by instruction, and strengthen them by exercise.

"It was a train of reflections such as these, which has often led me to wish for the existence of a work like the present, and at length to undertake its execution.

"Whatever is required already in the theological department, either by the University itself, or by any of its several Colleges, or whatever shall be enacted hereafter, it was no part of my wishes or design, through means of this work, to exercise any direct interference upon that in the remotest degree, or any influence of any kind, save such as might be subordinate and subsidiary. But, her part performed,—the University having rendered her system and scheme of an elementary character, as full and complete as she should desire,—it still appeared to me that there would, not the less on that account, but even the more, be occasion and room for another effort and work of a more diffusive and general character; a work whose aim should be to build up the love of Christianity upon and along with the knowledge of it: present religion to the youthful mind in the attractive and the commanding form in which it has a right to be presented; maintained, that is, and illustrated, as it ought, by the strongest powers, and the choicest graces of the affections, the reason, and the imagination, through the voice of the wise and pious, the eloquent and the good."—pp. xv. xvi.

On the whole, we never saw a work, which more completely bore out the description given of it in the title-page, as "*Christian Institutes; or a Series of Discourses and Tracts, selected, arranged systematically, and illustrated with Notes;*" nor one, of which the dedication is more appropriate, since it is inscribed "*to the Students in the Universities, and to the junior members of the several learned and liberal professions, and of the upper classes of society in general,*" as being "*compiled in an earnest desire of promoting their intellectual, moral, and spiritual improvement.*" All this is admirable, in the design as in the execution. We trust, that, on every fitting occasion, we have shown ourselves anxious, as the disciples of the Saviour ought to be and must be,

for the good of the poor: but we would urge again the necessity of using the utmost efforts for the religious instruction and amelioration of the rich. The genuine conversion of one rich man may do more for the true and ultimate evangelization of a land, than the conversion of ten, or twenty, or a hundred poor. Only let the rich and exalted be brought within the influences of the Gospel; only let them be taught first to feel their own spiritual wants, and thus, by an inevitable consequence, to sympathise with the spiritual wants of their neighbours; only let us have a Christian nobility, and a Christian gentry; and we are sure, humanly speaking, to have a Christian commonalty, a Christian people. Their authority, their example, their personal exertions, and their pecuniary means, will operate upon the rest of the community with a resistless and almost unresisted power. The lower classes of society, independent as they deem themselves, and as in some respects they are, *do* imitate the higher: and regularly and rapidly will the stream of piety flow downwards by its natural gravitation; although it can scarcely be forced upwards, more than the current of a river from the plain to the mountain.

Yet there are two things, which, with a spirit perhaps of hypercriticism, we in some measure regret. We regret rather that Jewel's Apology, and the celebrated *Epistola Dedicatoria* of Isaac Casaubon, should appear in their Latin form. The present is an age of intellectual activity, but not one, we imagine, of intellectual patience; not one, when many will undertake, for its own sake, and without some immediate prize in view, any thing of strenuous, toilsome, and persevering study. The fashion of the day combines with the inherent disposition of mankind in recommending all sorts of short-cuts and facilitations to knowledge; and although we should be pedants indeed if we condemned these things in the gross, or contended that there was no application or degree in which they are allowable and laudable, we may nevertheless lament that the quickest and easiest road should be preferred, even when it leads but to superficiality and self-conceit. As to the particular point in question, the noble works of Jewel and Casaubon might be a finer exercise and discipline for the mind in Latin than in English; but we apprehend that they thus run an imminent risk of being altogether neglected. To some they will be as a closed book and a sealed fountain; and although the persons to whom Dr. Wordsworth chiefly addresses them, *could* read the Latin at scarcely any expense of time or trouble, we much doubt whether they *will* read it, because it is attended with just a little more difficulty than their native tongue.

The other point, which excites something of regret, is the necessary price of the four volumes, cheap as they are, if we consider the quantity and quality of the matter, the vast number of pages, amounting to some thousands, as well as the accessories and accompaniments of excellent paper and printing:—cheap, then, as they are,—for any flashy and trashy novel costs at least half as much,—we are yet sorry that the price of such a work should at all impede its circulation. We do not ourselves see any remedy; and the circumstance of even apparent dearness would, we very well know, have been avoided, if it had been found possible: yet in some new edition,—for many editions must be called for,—the publishers may perhaps devise some mode of bringing these *Christian Institutes* within the reach of hundreds who are placed somewhat below “*the upper classes of society*.”

For, in sober verity, they constitute a *thesaurus*, and almost a library of sound religious instruction, in conformity with the word of God, and the tenets and usages of the first and best ages of Christianity: and they must be invaluable to all, who, being without leisure to read, or money to purchase, any extensive collection of authors, would yet lay a broad and solid foundation for their theological and ecclesiastical opinions. We picture to ourselves the incipient philosopher, as he fancies himself, whose mind has been poisoned by shallow and exclusive theories:—we picture to ourselves the young man, aspiring and ambitious, thirsting for human knowledge as the hart for the water-brook, but without appetite or relish for divine:—we picture to ourselves another, hitherto misled by an imperfect education or by evil companions, yet not unwilling to be guided into the right path:—we picture to ourselves the enthusiast hurried into extravagances, either by inexperience and half-knowledge, or by the very warmth of his devotion:—we picture to ourselves the medical student, boasting to be a materialist, because steeped in that intellectual arrogance which is the result of circumscribed and partial views:—we picture to ourselves any one of these;—and then we think from how much of error, and folly, and misconduct, and wretchedness, a careful perusal of these volumes might instrumentally redeem him;—how it might impart to him worthier and more accurate notions of his religion and his Church;—how it might improve his taste, and enlarge his understanding, and pour higher and better principles into his heart. We cannot, therefore, but wish for them that wide and lasting success, which God's blessing may bestow upon any exertions made for his own glory, and the best interests of his creatures.

ART. V.—1. *The Early Years of the late Bishop Hobart.* By John M'Vickar, D. D., New York. Protestant Episcopal Press. 1834. Small 8vo. pp. 228.

2. *The Professional Years of John Henry Hobart, D. D., being a Sequel to his Early Years.* By the Same. New York, 1836. Small 8vo. pp. 500.

FOR a period of two centuries and a half, the Church of England was the distinguished witness among Christian Societies for primitive doctrine and apostolical discipline conjoined. To her was entrusted by God's especial blessing, the high privilege of maintaining a pure and orthodox faith, in union with that apostolical succession which conveys to mortal man his title to become a dispenser of God's holy word and sacraments. During nearly four-fifths of the same period,* this country was extending its influence both in the East and West Indies, till its commerce and its colonies surpassed in extent those of any country in ancient or in modern times. Not only our language, but even the forms of our constitution, were spreading over all parts of the globe. And for what purpose were these blessings, both spiritual and temporal, showered on this favoured country? It might naturally be expected that a nation, which was proud of its constitution in church and state, would have been anxious to disseminate its own advantages over the world; that Christians who believe themselves, alone of all who bear that holy name, to have the double privilege of orthodox teaching, and that at the hands of an authorized ministry, would be anxious to secure the one by establishing the other as widely as Providence gave them influence. The flag of the British governor floated every where, but where was the mitre of the English bishop? To the shame of this country, be it acknowledged, more than two centuries elapsed after the Reformation, before we had planted a single bishopric in any of our dominions. This, however, was not the fault of the Church. Some of the best and greatest of her clergy and of her laity strove to remove the disgrace. Twice was the plan matured, and twice frustrated by political interests when it was on the eve of completion.†

Can we wonder that, if the political influence of the mother country only tended to retard the extension of the Church in her colonies, the choicest of them were torn from us. And mark the

* East India Company, chartered 1600. London and Plymouth Company, chartered 1606. Constitution in Virginia, modelled after the mother country, 1619.

† See an interesting account of the exertions of Benkeley, Butler, Gibson, Sherlock, Secker, and Granville Sharp.—*Professional Years of Bishop Hobart*, p. 82.

result. Within fifty years sixteen new bishoprics have sprung up in the United States.

It surely must have struck many persons as a remarkable feature of our times, that within half a century a new Church, independent of this country, should have sprung into life; that our Scottish sister, long oppressed and scarcely tolerated, should have emerged from obscurity and contempt into importance and influence; that, during the same period, we should have begun to plant bishoprics in our colonies, and that, at the very same time, the course of events at home is leading churchmen to inquire more deeply into the principles on which they stand, and is teaching the wisest among them how very much they have to learn. It is impossible to scrutinize the designs of Providence; it were presumptuous to guess what may be in store for us. But we have little doubt of the sympathy of our readers in saying, that, however false the charges and unprincipled the attacks of our enemies, yet the humble attitude of penitence befits the members of the Church, rather than that of injured innocence. Our opponents may talk of enormous wealth, and pampered indolence; we know it is false. They may call the establishment a burden; we know that it is a temporal advantage as well as a religious blessing. But we also know, what they cannot understand; that both laity and clergy have high privileges, which they have not realized; that we profess principles, which we are too fearful to assert, and too sluggish to act upon; and that the Church has promises, for the fulfilment of which she does not earnestly watch and pray. Such thoughts are humbling, but are they not true? They lead us on the one hand to feel the more tender charity for those who have not our privileges; and, on the other, they point to the only method by which the Church can fulfil its high commission, and that is—an honest confession of our own imperfections, and an earnest effort to remedy them, joined to an uncompromising resolution to maintain our inheritance inviolate. Those who have heretofore valued the form more than the life, are now for making concessions; they would give up one thing, in the vain hope of saving another: we believe that, on the other hand, the number is daily increasing of those who, though heretofore ignorant of the meaning of our institutions, are awaking, as from a dream, and are prepared to devote every energy of their souls to the maintenance of the Church in its integrity, and to the carrying out of its principles without fear or compromise.

In the confidence that these feelings are shared by many, we do not hesitate to draw the attention of our readers a second time to the character of John Henry Hobart, Bishop of New York, in order that, in the perusal of his life, churchmen may see what piety and principle combined have done before, and may do

again. An article appeared in a late number of this Review,* in which an outline of the bishop's life was given, founded on the memoir of Dr. Berrian.

An opportunity is afforded to us by the late appearance of two volumes which stand at the head of this article. They are from the pen of the amiable and accomplished Doctor M'Vickar. We have been informed that they were called forth by a general feeling amongst the friends of the bishop, that Dr. Berrian's memoir, however valuable as a record of the bishop's public life, fails of doing justice to him as a man. Bishop Hobart's character was greatly misunderstood by those who knew him only in public. His energy was attributed to ambition, and his attachment to the Church was set against the account of his personal piety. In order to give due weight to the example of such a man as Hobart, it is essential to have a thorough confidence in his personal excellence. And we think no one can rise from the perusal of these volumes, without feeling a moral certainty on this point, amounting to a love of the man, whatever we may think of his cause. Coleridge has somewhere said, that the great moral characteristic of genius is, "that it carries on the freshness and feelings of childhood into the powers of manhood." This is true to a certain extent of all great men, but it forms the distinctive feature of Bishop Hobart's character.

His biographer has very wisely judged that he could in no way so fitly exhibit the bishop's character, as by showing what he was in his early years. He has shown the spirited school-boy and the warm-hearted college friend to have been, as afterwards, so from the first "bold in duty, but childlike in piety, yielding in matters of expediency, but uncompromising in principle." "The boy was father to the man:" and he has thus vindicated for the character of the bishop that influence, to which it was at all times entitled, from an intimate union between the natural talents which lead to power, and the Christian graces which consecrate their exercise.

We refer our readers to the article above alluded to for the leading facts of Hobart's life. All that we propose to ourselves is to draw on the new matter presented in Dr. M'Vickar's volumes; with the two-fold object of showing what his heart and his piety were, and of showing, in one or two remarkable instances, what may be done by adherence to principle, when it is realized, felt, and acted upon.

We cannot stop to criticise the manner in which Dr. M'Vickar has performed his task; the artist has gained his end, when his picture is lost in the ideal contemplation of the original. And this is our feeling with respect to his work. But yet it is impossible to read these volumes without conceiving a high opinion of their

* Vol. xv. p. 280.

author. He is affectionately remembered by many in this country; and we trust he is valued in his own. If his lectures on moral philosophy unite the profound reflection, the elevated moral tone, and the scholarlike justness of thought which appear in his conception of the living model he describes, Columbia College is happy in its professor. We would hope some day to see his lectures in print; we have never heard what is their character, but we will venture to predict that they will refute the calumny that all Americans are Utilitarians.

The great philosopher of antiquity devoted two whole books of his ethical treatise to the subject of friendship, because he saw in the φίλος the moral elements of the πολιτικός, in friendship the foundation of social virtue: we may contemplate, in the true-hearted Christian friend, the germ of the faithful pastor, and of the bishop, the father of his flock.

Let those, who may be disposed to question whether the bishop's zeal for the Church was based on (what is called) natural feeling, instead of on the Christianity of the heart, read the letters which he wrote to his young friend Skinner, whom he had reclaimed from thoughtlessness, and over whom he watched with a father's eye, till he was withdrawn from earthly care by an early death. Dr. M'Vickar has given a few of them, selected from above sixty, which were addressed to his young friend during the two years which followed his college life.

The following extracts are taken from the first and the last of those which are given in the "Early Years."

"Philadelphia, May 8th, 1794.

"O my dear Skinner, let true religion be our choice, and let us learn what true religion is from the Scriptures of God; we shall then find that repentance, faith, and obedience are its main pillars. Let us not then place our reliance in the mere performance of external duty, nor even in those more amiable accomplishments, which do not flow from a sincere love of God and faith in a Redeemer. If we are not feelingly convinced, that of ourselves we can do nothing;—that the spirit of grace must subdue and purify our diseased nature;—and that the all-atoning merits of a blessed Redeemer alone can give us a title to immortal happiness, and reconcile an offended God,—all our works and righteousness will avail us nothing."—*Early Years*, p. 80.

"Princeton, March 4th, 1795.

"Begin with the reformation of heart and life, abstaining from every known sin, and practising every known duty, and let all your exertions be accompanied with sincere and fervent prayer to God for his grace, without which they cannot be effectual; and may He, who is abundant in mercy and grace, form our hearts to his most blessed image, and our lives to his most holy law, that when this mortal life is ended, we may be received into life eternal, through the all-sufficient merits of Christ

our Saviour. Do not our hearts answer, Amen? O let us then enter on that course of life which will conduct us to the mansions of eternal bliss. That God may preserve, bless, and finally crown you with eternal happiness, my dearest Skinner, is the constant prayer of your sincerely affectionate
HOBART."

These sentiments were his to the last. Hear him when preparing for holy orders.

"I daily become more sensible, to use a scriptural and very just expression, of the plague of my own heart. It is useless indeed for me to lament this, while exertion on my part is wanting. Yet I rejoice that Christ has made a sufficient atonement for my sins, and that through faith in him the chief of sinners may be reconciled to God. In this character would I seek a merciful God, and beseech him by the merits and atonement of his crucified Son to pardon my sins, to rectify my nature, to subdue the power of sin within me, and to make me holy in heart and life."

These were not the feelings of a moment, nor were they changed by years; among his last words were the following:—

"Bear me witness, I have no merit of my own; as a guilty sinner, I go to my Saviour, casting all my reliance on him,—on the atonement of his blood."

"Such," says the biographer, "were the workings of his humble and deeply spiritual mind, and such the preparation of a heart, which, by those who knew it not, was charged with being ignorant of the feelings of vital religion."—*Early Years*, p. 155.

Let us now behold Mr. Hobart in the former part of his clerical life, combining the patience of a hard student with the activity of a diligent parish priest.

"An attic chamber formed his study...with windows looking, over the noble expanse of the Hudson, on the very hills in which he found in later years that quiet rural retreat he always longed for.

"In this little sanctum, surrounded, or to speak more justly, walled in by piles of folios and heaps of pamphlets, through the zigzag mazes of which it was no easy matter for a stranger to make his way, did our young theologian entrench himself, passing every minute both of the day and night, that could be snatched from sleep or hasty meals, or spared from the higher claims of parochial duty....

"But his parishioners were his first care; however deaf to other calls, while absorbed in his books, to a spiritual one his ears were ever open—in comparison with such study was nothing, and personal ease less than nothing—even health and prudence were disregarded when the question was one of comfort and consolation to the bereaved, the sick, or the dying. These once performed, with a rapidity of movement which distanced ordinary men, he was again to be found at his post, among his books and with his pen, entrenched, as before, in his lofty citadel."—*Early Years*, p. 48.

Among the fleeting recollections which bear upon his habits of ready kindness, the following, however trifling, serve to mark his character.

“ On one occasion, being interrupted, while very busily engaged, by a petition for alms, he refused to be disturbed, and the petitioner was dismissed. On coming down to the parlour, he was observed to walk up and down the room very hastily two or three times, with his hands behind him, as his manner was, until at length hastily saying, ‘ I have done wrong, I have done wrong,’ he seized his hat, followed the applicant, and relieved at once his own conscience, and the poor man’s necessities.

“ On another occasion, having given an obscure direction to some distant part of the city to an elderly country clergyman who was his guest, as soon as he was aware of it, he snatched up his hat, and, in his slippers as he was, ran after him to correct it. These no doubt are trifling incidents for a great man’s life, but they speak forth the heart and show how it was that he won love, as well as admiration, from all who approached him.”—*Prof. Years*, pp. 53, 54.

While Mr. Hobart promoted the cause of Christ’s Church by an assiduous attention to duties in his own parish, he also laid the foundation of his more extensive labours, by an earnest endeavour to elevate the tone of piety among the members of the Church at large. He published several practical works, which bear strongly the impress of his own character, combining as they did the most fervent devotion with the soundest principles. He strove to imbibe and to impart the spirit of the primitive writings, and to combine the “ forcible reasoning ” and “ the sacred fervour ” of the great English Divines. His materials and his models were found in the writings of the venerable Bishop Andrewes, of Bishop Taylor, Bishop Kenn, Bishop Hall, Dean Hicke, Dean Stanhope, Bishop Wilson, and Bishop Horne.

A work on such principles was much wanted. The piety of churchmen had waxed cold, while of the claims of the Church as a spiritual body, and as the appointed channel of grace, they knew nothing. Mr. Hobart’s *Companion to the Altar* was calculated at once to awaken feelings, and to inculcate principles, and to connect personal religion with a devout appreciation of the ordinances of the Church.

At first many were perplexed, and they knew not whether to call the author a High Churchman or a Methodist. How noble is the comment of his biographer.

“ This was a combination, in which Mr. Hobart at that time stood singular, and which gives the secret of his influence over the Church. . . . Heart and head, enthusiasm and principles, zeal and a sound judgment, this is the union in man of those opposing poles of human thought, which embrace all its springs of power. Therefore it is that such men, in the sphere in which they are called to act, carry the world before

them; all things yield before the pertinacity of principle—of *that passion for truth which men call PRINCIPLE.*”—p. 66.

In another part of the life Dr. M'Vickar thus expands the portrait.

“.... His character was a rare combination of extremes. Some men there are who seem all heart and no head; these give the material out of which vulgar enthusiasts are made—men who do more, both to make and to mar good designs, than any other class of men in society; for, without enthusiasm, there is nothing great, and yet, with such enthusiasts, there is nothing successful. With them Bishop Hobart was often confounded; and the ardour of all his feelings, in whatever he thought, said, or did, and his apparent disregard of all prudential considerations in the courses he adopted, seemed to justify the belief. *But he was not of them.*

“Others again there are who seem all head and no heart; these make up the still larger class of the politic and the prudent calculators of this world. With these too Bishop Hobart was often confounded; and the sagacity of his views, and the steadiness of his course, seemed to justify this classification, and to mark a decided preponderance in his character of judgment over feeling. *But neither was he of them.*

“But he was, as was already said, of that higher and rarer class, who seem to be from nature partakers of both extremes:—men who are at the same time circumspect and impassioned, all head to plan, all heart to execute;—engaging all confidence by their wisdom, and exciting all affection by their simple heartedness;—having, in short, the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.”—*Prof. Years*, pp. 342, 343.

The state of the Church, when Mr. Hobart's influence began to spread beyond his own parish, was most discouraging. The colonial Church, when first withdrawn from the chilling influence of the state policy of England, had to encounter political jealousy from without, while it suffered from indifference within. Identified in popular prejudice with the royal cause, deprived of its pecuniary supplies, it harboured indifference, and even heresy, in its bosom. Previously to the year 1787, being without bishops, it had neither centre of union nor power of growth; and even after the Church welcomed to her shores her own bishops, she was weak as a child that is weaned. Her first steps were in feebleness and fear; and for some years her members were content to secure toleration by silence and quiet. Not so thought the champion whom providence raised for the Church in her need. “A bold heart rejected such policy as timid, a sagacious judgment condemned it as false. Mr. Hobart felt and reasoned, that for a Church thus placed between jealousy on the one hand and indifference on the other, no chance remained but to place itself on the ground of principle and to demand a fair trial.”

" 'THE GOSPEL IN THE CHURCH' was his motto; united in the beginning by divine authority, man, he contended, had no right to put them asunder. When asked if the Church was to be spread every where—'Yes,' said he, 'could I send my voice into every part of Zion, I would send it with this holy watchword: 'THE CHURCH,' in her faith, her ministry, her order, her worship, in all her *great distinctive principles*, maintain her *at all hazards*.' "—*Prof. Years*, p. 60.

A transaction which took place in the management of Columbia College, exhibits Mr. Hobart's powers in a remarkable light. The sagacity of foresight, the concentration of effort, and the fertility of resource, which distinguished him in so high a degree, were, on this occasion, prominently called into action. Columbia College was connected with the Episcopal Church; the legal condition on which it held its property from Trinity Church, were that the president should be an Episcopalian. Its affairs and discipline had fallen into disorder; and a certain Dr. Mason, a Presbyterian, of commanding talents and an overbearing temperament, undertook the work of reform. The board of trustees was not limited to Episcopalians, and the majority determined to elect Dr. Mason as president, with new powers and responsibilities. The question was, how to evade the restriction. Mr. Hobart, who thought that the breach of principle was unjustifiable, and that Dr. Mason was utterly unfit for the office, struggled hard to prevent his election: he opposed successfully several schemes for effecting the object of the majority, some of which went to the length of a proposal to divide the property by calling in the aid of the legislature; but he found them at length determined to force the way, and at any hazard to make Dr. Mason president. Dr. M'Vickar shall tell how Mr. Hobart saved the college.

"Agitated by these contending evils, Mr. Hobart was driven almost to despair; the day of election approached, and no remedy was found. Lying sleepless and restless the greater part of the night preceding that eventful day, as he revolved within himself how the evil might be avoided, suddenly the idea came into his mind of the creation of a new and temporary office, to be termed the provostship, into which Dr. Mason might be elected, with whatever salary and measure of power his friends might see fit to give. This he thought would probably satisfy both them and him, and permit the experiment to be tried of his government of the College, while it would leave the charter and property untouched, the condition being complied with by means of a nominal president of the Episcopal Communion.

"The plans of Mr. Hobart, once matured, never slept. He accordingly arose before day, and crossing the river to Long Island, drove twelve miles to the seat of Mr. Rufus King, whose influence in the board was among the first; satisfied him during breakfast of the feasibility and prudence of the scheme, returned instantly to the city; called on Mr.

Oliver Wolcott before he left his house in the morning, and, having convinced this gentleman also, whose opinions had the same weight with the Presbyterian—as Mr. King's had with the Episcopal—members of the Board, before the meeting had succeeded in further uniting so many leading voices in its favour, that upon the opening of the business the matter assumed that shape, and was carried in that form by an almost unanimous vote. Dr. Mason was elected Provost with an ample salary, and still ampler powers, and the Rev. Dr. Harris was elected President with but little provision for either."—*Prof. Years*, pp. 193, 194.

The result of the experiment was what Mr. Hobart foresaw. Dr. Mason was not a working but a talking man, and after six years of fruitless, because heartless, labour, was forced to resign. The temporary office was abolished, and Dr. Harris succeeded his noisy predecessor, like the fertilizing stream after the splendid but fruitless torrent.

Many would have found fault with Mr. Hobart's scrupulous adherence to the form of the college statutes: and would have talked loudly of practical reforms and tangible results; but these scruples, followed by energetic action, saved the college.

The following is one of the valuable anecdotes, which Dr. M'Vickar contributes from his own knowledge to aid us in forming an adequate conception of the Bishop's character. It reminds one of Laud's saying, "I am for thorough." Bishop Hobart had refused a candidate for ordination; and it was urged upon him that he need not take any further steps to prevent his being ordained elsewhere. "If I thought him worthy," was the Bishop's answer, "I would ordain him myself. If I think him unworthy, I feel it my duty so to impress my convictions on my brother Bishops (who in this matter can only make up their minds upon testimony), that they may come to what I consider a right conclusion." When his friend urged the unpopularity of such a course, his reply was in a still higher tone. "God knows," said he, "I have no need to increase the burden of that, and foreseeing it as I clearly do, I would that I could view the matter as you view it, but I cannot.—I feel that I am called upon to stand in the gap; and be the result what it may, I must go forward."* Truly a man who acts thus has counted the cost, and, like Wordsworth's happy warrior,—

"Through the heat of conflict keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw:
Or, if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need."

That the man who thus fearlessly discharged his own duty as a Bishop, would address his clergy in no half-hearted manner, will

* *Professional Years*, p. 264.

be readily anticipated. The following heart-stirring appeal may be taken as a specimen of his native, overflowing, hortatory eloquence. After exhorting the clergy to question the spirits of the age, he adds,

“But it is a duty far from inviting. Much more pleasant is it to swim with, than to stem, the current; to be carried along by the popular gale, than, with incessant and wearying exertion, to struggle against it; to be hailed by the applause of hosts, in whose ranks, or as whose leaders, men bear to a triumph the opinions or the measures of the day, than to meet their odium by refusing to enlist with them, or, by opposition, somewhat to perplex their progress, if not to diminish their success. And therefore, in general, the method of insuring a prosperous issue to any plan, and a universal reception to any opinions, is to make them popular; for thus are enlisted in their cause all that is weak and all that is selfish in our nature.

“But I forget that I am addressing those, who, when at the altar of their Lord and Master they were invested with the office of ministering in sacred things, pledged themselves over the symbols of his body and blood, to make the unity and purity of his Church, established for the salvation of men, the object of their supreme and constant exertions; on that altar sacrificed all those human regards that would seduce or deter them from the faithful discharge of their duty; who are supported by the confidence that the Master, whose truth and Church they are defending, will never forsake them,—now comforting them with those hopes which the world can neither give nor take away,—and hereafter, swallowing up the remembrance of past afflictions in the rewards of immortality. These, my clerical brethren, are the consolations that fortify, with more than human strength, the spirit of the Christian minister against severer trials than any to which, in the present day, he is called. Under their influence the rack lost its terrors, and the stake the torture of its flames.”

How beautifully does the same charge describe the *via media* of the Reformed Church.

“Let not, brethren, your attachment to the primitive institutions of your Church be in any degree shaken by the aspersion that they symbolize with papal superstitions. Be not intimidated from avowing and defending the scriptural and primitive claims of Episcopacy, by the reproach, that you are verging to the Church of Rome. The reproach discovers little acquaintance with genuine Episcopacy, and little knowledge of Papal claims. The Episcopacy, which it is the privilege of our Church to enjoy, was the glory of martyrs and confessors centuries before the Papal domination established itself on the depression of Episcopal prerogatives.

“Temperate, judicious, firm, unawed by Papal threats, unmoved by the unjust reproaches of her Protestant kindred, she [the Church] takes her stand where apostles and martyrs stood; and in her apostolic Episcopacy, cleared of Papal usurpation, stands forth to the

wandering members of the Christian family as a city set on a hill, where they may find repose from schism, and communion with their Redeemer in those ministrations which he has established as the channels of his grace, and the pledges of his love."*—p. 411.

The organization of the Church as *a social system* for the promotion of God's kingdom on earth, was the end for which Bishop Hobart laboured most earnestly; it was the subject on which he had the greatest difficulties to contend with, and in which at last he had the most signal success. Education, to dig deep the foundation, and missions, to spread wide the walls of the Church, were the subjects ever nearest to his heart.

But the manner, in which he promoted these objects, is most instructive. In this country there has been almost a mania for religious societies, and yet the mode of their operation has been such, that our Christian energies have been dissipated by division, and the best feelings of the heart injured by excitement, while very little substantial good has been done. Perhaps it would not be too much to say, that to the system of religious societies, more than to any other cause, it is owing, that men of the most devoted piety have sacrificed, at the altar of a hollow and specious liberalism, their noble exertions, which otherwise would have been dedicated to the service of the sanctuary. At the same time, we will not deny that zeal has been called forth by these societies, which, but for them, might perhaps never have existed. And as the system is now falling to pieces, by the development of its necessary results, we confidently hope that at no distant period this zeal will be increased tenfold in point of intensity and extent, and a hundredfold in its results, by being all directed through the Church as its legitimate channel. We may be mistaken, but we think that the proceedings of some of our most approved associations are now clearly showing that we have a lesson yet to learn, even in those societies, in which the evil of a faulty constitution was in quiet times neutralized by the circumstance of the authorities and dignitaries of the Church, in their individual capacity, becoming subscribing members. We have much zeal in some places, we *have had* much regularity and order in others, where shall we turn to look for both, on any large scale, in energetic yet harmonious combination?

Meanwhile, let us see how Bishop Hobart directed the associated operations of individuals in the American Church. It is owing mainly to his exertions that the highest councils have publicly ratified the principle, "that the CHURCH IS THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY." Therefore does the Church go where the Gospel

* These extracts are taken from a charge delivered to the clergy in 1817, entitled, "The Corruptions of the Church of Rome contrasted with certain Protestant Errors."

goes, her prayers go with her instructions, her ministers with her doctrines, her sacraments with the knowledge of that covenant of which they are the seal, or, in other words, the Prayer-book goes with the Bible.”* The great sphere of Bishop Hobart’s exertions was the establishment of new congregations within his own diocese, a work which, in America, can only be effected by missionaries. The consequence was, that it was charged against him, that he was indifferent to foreign missions, “as if,” replies his biographer, “between *foreign* and *domestic* there were any other question than that of simple distance. The missionary spirit is the spirit of the Gospel, wherever it labour. As our Church hath now well said, ‘the missionary field is one—THE WORLD—and foreign and domestic are but terms of locality.’”*

How sincere the bishop was in these home-missionary labours may be learned from the fact, that he found in the diocese two missionaries, and left in it at his death more than fifty; while many churches, which had been founded by missionary labour, were regularly organized as parishes.

Such a result, however, would not have been brought about if the bishop had not secured united energy within the existing limits of the Church at first. The history of what the bishop sustained and suffered in the cause of the “Bible and Common Prayer-book Society,” can alone do justice to his labours in this matter. To this subject we can only shortly allude. When Bible Societies, open to all denominations, were gaining ground in America, the bishop saw in their progress more cause for apprehension than for satisfaction. However good the end proposed might be, he saw clearly, and saw at once, that the means were objectionable in principle, as well as questionable in point of expediency. What course did he pursue? did he tamely acquiesce in an imperfect plan for want of a better? or, disapproving entirely, did he merely stand aloof and leave his flock to find out the reasons of his scruples as they could? Such a course ill accorded with Bishop Hobart’s idea of the pastoral office. Against what he deemed it wrong to do himself, he thought it no less a duty solemnly to warn his clergy and laity. Knowing how unpopular the course would be in the eyes of Dissenters, how little welcome to many within the Church, he published a “Pastoral Letter to the Laity,” and “An Address to Episcopalians,” and boldly maintained and defended the position, that “in all societies of churchmen for religious purposes, it is better to conduct them in our own way, and on our own principles, and, con-

* Professional Years, p. 324.

† Ibid. p. 299.

sequently, without union or amalgamation with other denominations."

The address concludes in a characteristic tone.

"My brethren of the laity,—when I commenced this address to you, it was my intention that it should be anonymous. But I deem it more consistent with honourable frankness to annex my name. I am aware, that I may be exposed to unworthy imputations. But if I am charged with an illiberal or uncharitable spirit, He who knows my heart, knows, I trust, that the charge is unfounded. I think I am doing my duty, and my duty, 'through good report and through evil report,' I ought not to fear to perform. I think I am doing my duty to my Master—to the Church, a portion of which, in his Providence, is entrusted to me—and whose interest I would most solicitously guard, in the firm persuasion that she is a pure branch of his mystical body, which is finally to convey the blessings of grace and redemption to every quarter of the world."

The charge of "bigotry," and even of "impiety," soon fell upon him; how they were met need not be said. Arguments, also, were used, and the watchwords of "Union and harmony among Christians" had their usual currency. His reply to these popular appeals is thus summed up by his biographer.

"The differences that exist between Churchmen and others are either essential or non-essential. If the latter, let them be given up, not only in Bible societies, but in Church government, in ministry, doctrine, and discipline; for if union be the only law of Christian charity, and the differences are unimportant, where shall the line be drawn? for draw it where you will, Christian harmony, according to this principle, is violated. But, if such universal amalgamation be absurd, it shows that there is some practical fallacy in this apparently Christian plea for union. The fallacy is an obvious one; it consists in substituting union, which is a worldly question, for *UNITY*, which is the Christian principle. The first, to be true and sound, can go no further than the latter goes—*union* can not go beyond *unity*."—*Professional Years*, p. 312.

Some years later, he consolidated the extensive and ill-regulated system of Sunday schools,—united them all into one society,—and brought each school under the rector of the parish, and the whole under the bishops, as the official heads of what is now the "Episcopal Sunday School Union."

By a similar course of proceeding did he labour to overcome the apathy of the laity, which the government patronage in old times had engendered.

"One by one he gathered round him a band of pious young laymen, attached and zealous co-workers in every good cause. Out of these materials, at first scanty in amount, and influential only through piety and zeal, were formed by degrees, with his sanction and under his

guidance, Church societies for all the varied objects of Christian benevolence."—p. 333.

"If these societies exhibit in their origin Bishop Hobart's influential zeal, no less do they, in their peculiar organization, his prospective wisdom. They all emanated from the Church, and were bound to the Church, and thus constituted an integral part of it. The bishop placed himself as the official head of each, not, as some superficial observers thought, from the wish to accumulate power in his own hands, but from a wise and settled policy, in which he may be said to have anticipated the now almost united voice of Christendom, viz. that the Church, in its spiritual and united character, is the true society for Christianizing and improving the human race; and that societies, emanating from her authority, and operating in connection with her ministry, will be found in the long run more efficient, as well as more safe, than those which rest upon temporary excitement and voluntary association."—p. 335.

Such were some of the labours of Bishop Hobart. The principles, for which he at first fought single-handed, are now almost taken for granted. We believe that, as regards discipline and the constitution of the Church, all churchmen in America are high-churchmen. And in the important matter of associations for religious and charitable purposes, Bishop Hobart's principle, that the Church is the Christian's chief almoner, is very generally recognized. We remember to have heard the present Bishop of Ohio say, that he and his brethren inculcate upon their flocks the duty of setting apart weekly as large a portion of their substance, as they can afford, to be employed by the Church as a body, in the great work of spreading the Gospel both at home and abroad.

Now we think we have a great deal to learn from the American Church in these matters. How far our brethren across the water act up to their principles, it is impossible to know without actual experience. But among us the principles are not recognized. Many among us know nothing of America, except so much as may suffice to point a paragraph on the working of the voluntary system; and, true it is, it works ill enough there, as everywhere else. Our brethren are groaning under its weight: the pew-letting system is most onerous to them: and the poor, especially, feel the want of an endowed church. But while we talk strongly, as we well may, against the voluntary system, how many of us are acting upon it within the pale of the Church. The voluntary system professes to recognize the duty of supporting some religion; but contends for a man's right to take his religion out in what shape he likes, on paying for it. It should be called the arbitrary system, as allowing every man to act according to his *arbitrium*, or independent power of choice, in all contributions to the great cause of religion. And is it not precisely on this *arbitrium*, this

wish to have things one's own way, that our religious associations are conducted?

Men will set up voluntary societies for some particular object, for advancing religion in their own way, and will not subscribe on any other condition. Clergy do not hold their clerical meetings under archdeacons or rural deans; but men of one set of opinions will meet together to further their own particular views. One would have thought that no such difficulty could arise in building churches, but even here, the conduct of some persons, with regard to the Bishop of London's church fund, has shown that there are too many who will not subscribe unless they can control the patronage. We ourselves met with a painful instance of this in a country diocese. A pious, intelligent, warmhearted layman, who called himself a good churchman, seriously maintained that he thought it a greater evil to build a church, in which he could not secure a preacher of his own opinions, than to leave the population destitute of adequate provision for religious service. And on this ground alone (we firmly believe) he would not join a diocesan church-building association. What a state must we be in, that such things are possible!

Men will give money if they can have a control over its expenditure; but, as for placing their alms at the disposal of the church, they will not hear of it. The primitive Christians sold lands, and laid the price at the Apostles' feet; "and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." But in these wiser days the principles of political economy are better understood: the character of the supply must be regulated by the nature of the demand, and by the fancy of the purchaser.

The first requisite in the formation of a society is, that it be such as will induce people to subscribe to it: *rem quocumque modo*. Which comes to this; that a society with an income of £25,000 a year, good as far as it goes, must necessarily do less good than a society on bad principles, having an income of £50,000 a year. Then we are told by some persons, who are still more profound, and who study not only political economy, but the science of legislation, that the institutions of Englishmen must be the same in church matters as in political affairs; and consequently, that you cannot expect freemen to subscribe, unless they have a control over the purse-strings; nay, that they have a right to such control; a doctrine which we suppose might receive valuable illustration from a comparison between the ten-pound householder and the ten-shilling subscriber. Now, in all this, there may be a great deal of worldly wisdom; but to bring it to a practical test, how does it work? do men on these principles sell houses and lands and lay them at any body's feet? do Chris-

tians, when they act on such principles, make large personal sacrifices even to advance what they themselves believe to be the truth. If these questions cannot be answered in the affirmative, surely there must be a flaw somewhere in the theory. Is it not in this, that the calculations of worldly expediency cannot do the work of Christian principle? sight cannot compete with faith. Cathedrals were not built, chapters were not endowed, on such reasonings; and, if we mean to follow the examples of our forefathers, we must endeavour to catch their spirit. For our parts, so far from acquiescing in the received doctrines for the formation and administration of societies, we believe the direct contrary to be the truth; we believe that the only feeling which will draw large sums from the pockets of individuals, is the belief that the sum is placed in the hands of God, and not of man, and a strong conviction of the necessity of sinking (so to speak) a large sum, of which we cannot see the result, in order that a foundation may be laid for future exertion. It is obvious, that such feelings are impossible except in the breasts of those who are fully possessed by the idea of one Catholic Church. In order to feel sure that our alms are in God's hands, in any sense beyond that in which all things are overruled by his Providence, we must feel sure that the heads of our Church, to whom we entrust those alms, were in an especial manner present to our Lord when he said to his Apostles "Lo, I am with you alway." And, if we will cease to live from hand to mouth, we must believe that the Church, which we would serve, is no local, no temporal Church, but one, to use Dr. McVickar's words, "which runs back to the first promise of a Redeemer, and forward to his final advent."

How intimately a spirit of alms-giving is connected with the doctrine of the Church, and how it is destroyed by schism, was felt in early days. "Unanimity," says St. Cyprian, "once existed amongst the apostles, so that the new assemblage of believers kept the Lord's commandment, and maintained its charity. Holy Scripture saith, in proof, 'the multitude of them that believed acted with one heart and soul.' And therefore they prayed effectually, and were with confidence enabled to obtain whatever they required of their Lord's mercy. Among us, however, there is as great a defect of unanimity, as there is a falling off in works of charity. Men in those days gave houses and lands for sale, and laying up for themselves treasure in heaven, presented the price to the Apostles, for distribution among the necessitous. But now we do not even give tithes of our estates, and while the Lord saith 'sell,' we rather buy and gather up. Thus it is that the power of faith languishes, and the believer's strength sinks: and therefore our Lord, *in respect*

"of this our age, saith in his Gospel, 'When the Son of Man cometh, think you that he will find faith on earth.'"

What we have said relates only to the financial part of our societies; but there is another and a higher view of the subject. The great error of the day seems to be the notion that societies, and not the Church, are to convert the world. In proportion as men have lost the idea of one Catholic Church, so has the sense of individual weakness, by natural reaction, found its vent in the countless associations which vie, one with another, for popularity. And those which are supposed to be most in connexion with the Church, are destitute of such a form and constitution as might make that connexion vital and real. It is generally supposed that the end is gained practically, though perhaps it is not recognized in form. Let those answer this, who are best acquainted with the working of central committees; let them say, whether the influence of the heads of the Church is insensibly felt and acted upon; or rather let them say, whether these venerable persons have not been driven to retire from the rudeness of a scene where they feel that their official authority is disregarded, and where they are allowed to have just so much weight as may personally attach to them as "*fallible men*," or as "*individuals*."* Until we realize adequately the commission, which the Church has received to evangelize the nations, until we acknowledge that the Church is the true missionary society,—that she (and not a committee) is to send her emissaries into the crowded haunts of the metropolis, or into the wide deserts of our colonies,—we shall never act with a right effect on the world. The system, which so many are advocating among us, involves a denial of the apostolic commission, in a manner more subtle, but not less real, than the open proceeding of unauthorized preaching. And on such an usurpation we cannot expect to receive a blessing.

Our attention has been drawn to the general question of societies by the contrast between the results of Bishop Hobart's influence in America and the proceedings of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. We had hailed with joy the diocesan funds for building churches which were raised in the metropolis and in the country. We had seen the clergy and the laity respond to the call of their respective diocesans, raise local funds, put them into the hands of the bishop and the archdeacons, and confine themselves to this one simple object. This was hopeful. It was also clear that means must be found to provide a greater number of

* On a proposal to refer some questions to twelve bishops, these expressions were chosen as the most appropriate to the bishops, at a meeting of a Church Society, by one of its members, the archbishop being in the chair.

ministers, and some persons looked to the society, to which we have alluded, with sanguine expectation. But such hopes must now be at an end; and perhaps it is better as it is. We may now proceed on a sounder principle, than would have been possible if any compromise had been effected with that body.

It is acknowledged on all hands that the most crying want of our land, next to the want of churches in thickly peopled places, is the want of ministers of religion to perform the pastoral duties. All admit the evil; a vast number feel it deeply; the question is, how to remedy it? We have begun, thank God, to build churches; we are considering how to increase our system of parochial visitations: and many persons are waiting with money in their hands to contribute to the cause of the Church as soon as she shall point out her own channel. In this difficulty up rises a society of clergy and laity, proposes a plan devised by a few individuals, who have no authority from the Church collectively, and who have taken no pains to ascertain *bonâ fide* the opinions of the bishops individually, unless the sending to them of printed circulars deserve this character. We will not enter into the question of the expediency of the plan proposed by the society. On this point many will differ. Some persons will revert to the primitive orders of catechists and readers; and will find in them a precedent for lay assistants; others, on a closer examination, will contend that, virtually, these inferior orders were not secular, seeing that their members could not return to the ordinary business of life;* others might hope that the interest awakened by the society would lead to the practical restoration of, what we possess, but only in name, the order of deacons;† but, whatever may be thought of the plan of the society, or of its possible modifications, all must agree that it involves a considerable change in our system; and no reflecting person will doubt that its adoption must involve many difficulties, and some risk. The question then arises, who is to judge of the expediency of the proposal? or if it be decided upon, who is to impose the regulations on its execution?

Here we come to the essential faultiness of the society. They, a set of individuals, not acting in any sense as a committee of the

* Bingham, (speaking of all the orders below the deacons,) B. III. c. i. § 5.

† See this subject well treated and the false principles of the society ably exposed in a pamphlet entitled, "Remarks on the System of Lay-teaching, as proposed by the Church Pastoral Aid Society, &c." Hatchard's. This pamphlet is supposed to embody the opinions of a Right Rev. Bishop, who offered to ordain as deacons all fit persons employed by the society in his diocese, if they would confine themselves to such ordained persons. This they refused, though they still profess "that there is nothing, next to the favour of Almighty God upon its proceedings, which the society desires more than the countenance of the bishops of the Church!"

whole Church, have taken upon themselves to cut the knot; and in so doing, they have, by necessary consequence, committed two distinct invasions on the essential and sacred duties, (and therefore sacred rights) of the episcopal office. The first invades the authority of the bishops to *govern* the Church; * the second, their authority to *appoint its teachers*.†

First, The society takes upon itself the responsibility of deciding for the Church on the expediency of a change in her parochial system; and—having, in the plenitude of its authority, determined that this new system shall be adopted—

Secondly, The society authorizes a committee of clergy and laity to *examine* the fitness of candidates, and to *set them apart* for the office of lay assistant.‡

It is only necessary that these principles should be plainly stated, in order that every well-instructed member of the Church should see them in their true light; if any one think that we are raising a theoretical objection, we have only to refer them to the examination paper addressed to persons offering their assistance as laymen, and to the mode in which the committee is to proceed on receiving the answer.‡ But the best practical answer to all questions on the principles of the society is to be found in the manner in which their committee received the communication of the Bishop of London. One course only can now be pursued by those members of the society, who have joined it in the hope of bringing it over to right principles; some immediately, others after waiting for some further overt act, will leave it. We cannot but say that, on the whole, we are glad that matters have turned out as they have. The Church may now propose its own plans, to be cordially adopted by its faithful sons. But it is a moment of fearful anxiety. We earnestly entreat our lay brethren to be patient, and not to urge the bishops to adopt any premature plan for the sake of gaining a few weeks; by which we may lose years, perhaps a century. We would humbly and respectfully submit to the heads of the Church our earnest hope that they will not call upon us to join any central society which may appear as the rival of the pastoral aid society. We

* “For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting” (τὰ λείποντα)—Tit. i. 5— a text peculiarly applicable to this case.

† “The things which thou hast heard of me before many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who may be able to teach others also.”—2 Tim. ii. 2.

‡ Let it not be said that the power of *ordaining* applies only to the clergy, for Bingham’s testimony to the voice of antiquity is decisive on the point, that, not priests and deacons only, but readers, catechists, and all officers of the Church received their commission from the bishops alone, whether by imposition of hands or otherwise. *Eccles. Antiq.* B. III. c. v.

§ Vide resolutions, &c. approved by the general committee, held April 7th, 1836.

trust that whatever plan is adopted may be *diocesan*, and not *central*; a *FUND* and not a *SOCIETY*.* If a society be formed in London, and administered, like most religious societies, by a committee and public meetings in the metropolis, there will be great cause to fear, that, in all parts of the country, we shall have curates acting under the apparent authority of two rival societies. The Church at home will be open to Dr. Wiseman's criticism on the Missionary Society.† However the rules may be framed on paper, the curates paid by the society will often appear to be sent by the committee of that society, and not by the authorities of the Church. On the other hand, if, as we fervently hope, we shall be allowed to place in the hands of our respective bishops such contributions as we can raise, how gratifying to them, and how consonant with ancient practice, will it be for each diocesan to have the power of sending forth, from the mother Church of the diocese, such pastoral aid as he may think fit, and of applying it where he knows its want to be most felt. How cordially will the chapters of the cathedrals join in such a plan, arising, as they now are, to a sense of their dignity and power, and giving evidence of a tone of principle and of talent, which very few knew to exist under those ancient walls! To the parochial minister,—worn down perhaps by more labour than he can bear, or struggling with the infirmities of years, and wishing for assistance to carry on the work which he has himself begun,—how much greater certainty will be afforded, that his case and circumstances will be fully weighed by those connected with him by local and spiritual ties, than by a board in London to whom he is an utter stranger!

We add, what a privilege will right-hearted laymen feel it, to be able to consecrate their alms to the service of Christ and his Church, in a manner at once so simple, so unexceptionable, so according to early practice. And all this may be effected without the machinery of committees and public meetings. Is it asked how is this possible? or how is the money to be collected? We will not, in answer, suggest plans of our own, but we will merely suppose that a practice, already revived in one diocese, of

* We would remind our readers that the only instance of munificent subscription which has occurred in our day has been in answer to the Pastoral Appeal of the Bishop of London, in his own diocese, for the creation of a *FUND* at his disposal, and not to make a *society*. It has been done, too, *almost without public meetings*; we are sure many of the subscribers never heard that a meeting took place.

† Dr. Wiseman quotes from the "Instructions of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society to the Rev. W. Watson and Mrs. Watson on their proceeding . . . on a Mission . . ." "Dearly beloved in the Lord! *The committee address you, Mr. and Mrs. Watson, with a paternal solicitude.*" Dr. Wiseman asks, "Has the society episcopal or other jurisdiction, that it has *parental* rights over ordained ministers of the Gospel? or are these missionaries sent by the society."—*Lectures, &c. delivered at St. Mary's Moorfields, 1836, p. 169.*

obeying the rubric,* by reading the offertory from the altar every Sunday and holiday, were general,—that the sentences relating to the ministry were not omitted,—and that the clergy instructed their flocks on the duty of laying by weekly, as God has blessed them, for the poor and for the Church. Is it to be supposed that, if this were done, as it ought to be *now*, the earnestness which gives weekly subscriptions to irregular societies, might not be turned into the channel of that society, which alone God has instituted, his Holy Catholic Church.

If it be said that, after all, this is a new plan under colour of an old or rather an existing duty, we reply with a fact.† In one of the cathedrals of the old foundation, the money collected at the offertory has been divided, from time immemorial, into three portions, the first for the local poor, a specific sum; that satisfied, the remainder is equally divided: one portion is given to the cathedral itself, the other to the canon in residence. Here at least is precedent for collections at the altar; first for the poor of the place, then for the sacred buildings and the ministry. Why should this not be diocesan? and we would add, if the chapters are spared to us, why not connect the plan with the cathedral, which, surely, in conjunction with the rural officers of the diocese, and such laymen as the bishop might name, furnishes the proper committee of all Church societies, each in its own diocese.

The only objection that we have heard urged to diocesan funds, is, that those dioceses in which additional ministers are most wanted, are precisely those, in which it will be most difficult to get money; we answer, in the first place, that the only effectual and ultimately successful means of obtaining money in a diocese, in which the disposition to give does not exist, is to give the more in one where it does: acts are far more powerful than arguments; men who will not listen to words, are led by acts to go and do likewise, some through shame, others through moral sympathy. In the second place, what hinders that each diocese should remit a given proportion of their income, not to the political, but to the ecclesiastical metropolis: vesting in the archbishops, severally or jointly, a fund to be redistributed in grants to the most needy dioceses, according to their several wants.

But we do not mean to suggest any course of conduct to our ecclesiastical heads; we only wish to show that without any new plans or machinery, the Church has in her own institutions the

* We believe that many of the persons who know that there is a rubric on the subject, suppose that it runs, "if there be no *sermon*;" instead of, "if there be no *communion*." The practice of weekly collections has, we are informed, been revived in more than one country parish, with much success.

† Our informant was the precentor of the cathedral in question.

means of meeting the wants of the times; we will add, the only means; for public meetings will never produce any thing great or permanent. We have wished further to assure our bishops that there are persons clerical and lay, and those not few, who will respond to their voice whenever it shall to them seem most fit to issue their call to us.

One solemn consideration we beg leave to submit to all who love our Lord and his Church; and especially to those who are most eager to see the Church put forth her strength and meet the circumstances of the times. Let it be admitted, that the actual system of our Church is inadequate to the wants of the nation; let it follow as a consequence, that our system needs great extension, either,—first, by restoring neglected usages, extinct orders, and obsolete forms, and by acting up to duties at once admitted and omitted, or,—secondly, by the putting forth of that inherent energy, which at all times lives in the Catholic Church, and which is fitted to cope with human nature in all its forms, and to take up into itself all the elements of power which God's providence is ever calling into action in the course of the world's doings. Be it so. But, however much to be desired and prayed for this extension of the Church may be, it is possible only on one condition. No changes, no improvements can take place in a healthy form, unless there be diffused through the whole body ecclesiastical a quietness of feeling, and an earnestness of spirit, which shall make men act as a matter of conscience and of habit in harmony with the Church; such a tone of thought and action as may enable the bishops and parochial clergy to calculate on those who act under them respectively, that they will, in good faith, speak as under authority, and not of themselves. We say in all good faith, because there is a growing disposition to talk upon Church principles, and to act against them:* this at least is a homage which is paid to principle, and so far is well: but we must take one step further. And we have no doubt that, in a very short time, those who value the Church much, but, as they think, the Gospel more, will be led, by their very earnestness, to acknowledge that they can never serve the cause of the Gospel so effectually, as by casting all the treasure of their alms, their affections, and their zeal, into the bosom of the Church herself. Meanwhile, let those who long for the

* We allude to such cases as this. An Archbishop comes forward, as a Bishop should, to advise his clergy on some point of practice. Some of his clergy address him *publicly*, and assure him that the desire nearest their hearts is in all things to act in harmony with their diocesan. But, as there is only one way of bringing this about, they most humbly and respectfully beg him to retract his own words, and publicly to approve of a practice which he has just condemned, and in which they mean, at all rates, to persevere.

restoration of early practices, beware lest their zeal for the Church as it was, betray them into a rudeness to the Church as it is. Let each of us go forward fearlessly and uncompromisingly on principle, like Bishop Hobart, in all matters within our own jurisdiction, and as uncompromisingly submit ourselves, even in the teeth of our own mature opinions, to the lawful jurisdiction of our ecclesiastical heads, in all matters not absolutely essential.

For every act of obedience to existing authorities, every act of self-denial, every submission of our own opinion, where it may be lawfully done, will have its blessing; every such act is one step in the formation of that tone of thought and feeling which is the indispensable condition of lasting improvement. Every contrary act, which overleaps the restraint of allegiance, in order to realize some immediate prospect of good, tends to put off the required temper to a distant period, and therefore delays indefinitely the practical attainment of the end which it seeks, by an abortive attempt, to hasten.

This article was concluded, and in the hands of the printer, before we were aware that a central society is to be formed, in order to assist in providing for the spiritual wants of parishes, by increasing the number of clergy, under the entire direction of the respective bishops. We had hoped that this object might be attained, and better attained, by diocesan funds; and we had reason for supposing this to be the wish of some, whose sanction to our views we were, on many grounds, anxious to obtain. The proposed plan, however, has, we believe, the entire sanction of the Primate; and whether we regard the weight due to his Grace's individual judgment, or his station in the Church, we cannot but view in this circumstance the fullest security that the proposed plan is, under all the circumstances, the best which can be adopted. Besides, we are ready to admit, that however preferable in the long run diocesan funds might be, there are obvious reasons why, in these times, and at the commencement of so important a work, it is desirable to secure such unity of operation as a central society may, for a time at least, secure. The object is moreover so simple, as to be the less open to the dangers attendant on centralization. The selection of the clergy to be employed in each diocese will, of course, be directed by the Bishop or incumbent, not by the London Committee. After a time, diocesan funds may be raised, as in the case of the Church Building Society, which will, in their turn, not impede, but materially promote, the more general objects contemplated by a central fund.

One wish only must now take place of all others ; namely, to make the plan as effective as possible for the proposed end. Above all, we earnestly desire to see a more generous scale of subscription than has been usual in religious societies ; first, on account of the magnitude and definiteness of the object proposed ; secondly, because individuals cannot, in any more effectual manner, be instrumental in bringing a blessing on this distracted land ; lastly, because we may thus show that our earnest anxiety to save the Cathedral institutions entire, does not arise from a cold indifference to the wants of the parishes. The only reason which can have induced the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to do violence, by the recommendations of their second Report, to their own feelings, and to those of many members of the Church who have mourned in silence, is the crying deficiency of parochial ministrations. If it shall appear that individuals are willing to make large sacrifices to supply the local and immediate necessity, the Cathedral institutions may be preserved entire for the great, abiding, national purposes for which they were intended. We are sure the Cathedral Clergy will nobly answer the call ; we have already heard, that subscriptions of an unprecedented amount are promised from individuals belonging to this class. Let not the laity, on the other hand, forget that every man who has an endowed Church to go to, has received, from the hour of his baptism, the blessings of a parochial ministry, *for which he has paid nothing*, while some of our brethren in America are paying a tenth or an eighth of their incomes for the same object. This he has from the free gift of some ancestor, who made a large sacrifice for his sake. And shall we not make any considerable sacrifice of our enjoyments, in order to provide the blessings of religion for our poorer brethren, who are crowded together in dense masses, only that they may produce our comforts and luxuries at the least possible cost to us ?

ART. VI.—*Biography of the Early Church.* By the Rev. Robert Wilson Evans, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Tarvin, and Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. London : Rivingtons. 1837.

It is worthy of observation, that the fear of being charged with partiality often leads men to an undue coldness of praise and severity of censure. Reviewers—and those not the least honest of their tribe—have, on this account, frequently been most caustic in their strictures upon the works of their own friends

and their own publishers. Sure we are, as to ourselves, that we may be accused of this species of injustice with far more plausibility than of its opposite. And if we should be thought to deal somewhat harshly with the volume now before us, Mr. Evans, it is highly probable, may suffer from this very cause.

For we begin by carping at the title. When Mr. Evans denominates his book the "*Biography of the Early Church*," does he use an accurate mode of expression? Can there be, in strictness, the *biography* of a Church, more than the *biography* of a nation? Does not the word *biography*, in all popular acceptation, signify an account of an individual as distinguished from the history of a community. Yet Mr. Evans *is*, in truth, a biographer, and not an historian. His title, then, we think, ought to have been, the "*Biography of the Early Fathers*," or the "*Biography of the chief Ornaments of the Early Church*;" although he may reply, that the personages whom he introduces to our notice are so identified with the Christian Church in the primitive ages, and have so impressed upon it their stamp and image, that a biography of any one of them is, in effect, a history or biography of the Church itself, as it existed in their time.

We pass on, then, to the contents of the volume, leaving the title-page behind us. It is a sequel to the "*Scripture Biography*," which forms a part of the *Theological Library*, and which has been already so well received; and is designed, as we are told by Mr. Evans, to "preserve the continuity of the history of the Church." We are glad to perceive, that the author thinks of following up the series. For he says—

"The limits of a single volume were too narrow to include the deeply interesting Lives of Cyprian and Origen. They, however, appropriately commence a new division of Church History: and should this specimen meet with public approbation, and should it also please God to continue the Author's health, he will devote such little leisure as he can now obtain to a continuation of this work in another volume, which will conclude with the period of the Council of Nice."—*Preface*, p. iv.

Nevertheless, our critical or hypercritical spirit calls upon us to suggest that the mode of narration which has been adopted by Mr. Evans, is open to some grave objections. We do not recollect ever to have seen a volume, of which so much was written in the conditional mood. Really a large portion of this biography is built on a "*perhaps*." There are pages of what "*would be*," or "*would have been*," when we should have been glad to learn *what was*. The materials were scanty: but it would have been well, we conceive, at least to have drawn some stronger line of demarcation between the events and the hypotheses. The continual intermixture of fact and conjecture, history and specu-

lation, is, we cannot but think, of serious detriment to the volume, both by disturbing the current of the narrative, and by throwing an unreal and fanciful air over a large proportion of its contents. It is certainly a hazardous thing in any man, however sagacious and however gifted he may be, to write biography on a speculative, and, we might almost say, *à priori* principle; that is, to assume particular circumstances of character and position, and then to state what *would* have happened in consequence of these circumstances; in short, to raise a superstructure of occurrences on the basis of certain antecedent conditions, which the author himself has, whether rightly or arbitrarily, supposed. Yet the very ingenious and eloquent work before us would lose no small number of its pages, if it were stripped of all those which have been constructed on this system.

But let us not be mistaken. We are far from asserting, either that the suppositions of Mr. Evans, although they may be uncertain, are erroneous; or that the main fabric of his volume does not rest upon more solid and trust-worthy foundations. We only regret that so many of his reflections, interesting and beautiful in themselves, are cast in such a form as to make them appear part of the narrative.

In such a case, however, it is peculiarly necessary, as well as only just, towards the author and ourselves, that we should explain our meaning by instances. The following account occurs nearly at the beginning of the life of Justin:—

“Justin, the character whom we are thus introducing, was born at Flavia Neapolis, a town which occupied the place of Sichem, the old capital of Samaria. It received its name in honour of Flavius Vespasian, the emperor, who colonized it with Greeks, and thus made it one of those heathen towns with which both the Romans and the Herods had found it expedient to bridle that ever restless country. Many of its citizens must have served under the emperor in his fatal overthrow of the Jewish nation; and perhaps we may indulge, without error, the pleasing supposition, that the father or grandfather of Justin was among these, and that this progenitor of the disputant with the Jews may have had a share in settling for ever the main point of the dispute, by assisting in the destruction of the temple. Here he was born, about the beginning of the second century, and about the time that Clement and Symeon were finishing that career which he himself was destined to run, and to conclude as faithfully and as gloriously.

“As he grew up in understanding, and his feeling deepened, the train of circumstances which God’s grace had laid for his conversion would begin to unfold themselves before him. His native town and neighbourhood were loud and continual in calls upon his attention. Within the walls the Greek tongue, with the necessary accompaniment of its magnificent literature, would be predominant; and the time and country

would be likely to place the works of Josephus in his hands. His mind could not but be strangely moved when he read, on the very scene of their occurrence, the prodigious events, which, even in that author's lax and accommodating account, came from the direction of a God so different in every way from the gods of heathen mythology. The history of all other nations, and more especially of his own, was so different from the sober nature of this narrative, that it was grossly fabulous, incredible and offensive, both to taste and judgment, as soon as it mounted up to the employment of divine agency; and a God so pure was excluded by Greek philosophy from any concern in the turmoil of this nether world of gross sense. Without the walls, and raving around them like the sea round a ship, was a tumult of barbarism of a most singular aspect. Immediately at hand were the Samaritans, at variance both with heathen and Jew in their religious observances. Beyond these roared the wild agitation of Jewish fanaticism, and the more violently for the severity of the storm with which the Roman was lashing it. Had Justin been more incurious than his works show him to have been, such a view continually before his eyes must have overcome the self-satisfied carelessness with which the Greek regarded every thing foreign, especially when we consider what a point of convergency had been given to all these events by the destruction of Jerusalem. The horrible tale of that dreadful visitation of heaven must have been familiar to him from his childhood. The nursery must have been well stored with romantic stories drawn from its many sources of pity and terror, and the curiosity of youth would eagerly investigate the reality of what had so interested his childhood, when both the nation and the scenes of the events were close at hand. It would be unsafe, indeed, to lay much stress on the particular nature of those impressions: they might have been but vague, and almost unconsciously received; yet it would be equally unsafe to neglect their effect, and not to see in them at least some remote elements of that frame of mind in which it pleased the Lord to call him to his service. Perhaps even they gave that peculiar turn to his thoughts which afterwards led him to conflict with the Jews upon the meaning of their own prophecies. But his chief occupation would be the pursuit of Greek literature."—p. 124—126.

We subjoin another example from the biography of Irenæus:—

"Here Irenæus ministered to Pothinus before the Lord, and received from his hands the order of Presbyter. We can follow his labours only in imagination; the indulgence of which, in such a case, will be pleasing, if not profitable. We may place the youthful missionary on the neighbouring heights, and enter into his thoughts and feelings, as he gazed on the remote Alps, whose ruggedness seemed to challenge the softening hand of the Gospel to their rude inhabitants, and distance and extent palpably exhibited to him the wide field on which he had undertaken to labour. As their snows glowed with the rising sun, he would feel the suggestion of conveying the day-spring of the Gospel into their wild recesses. With the rest of the missionary clergy he would in time

penetrate into their valleys, and threading the course of the two rivers with their tributaries, he might preach the Gospel on the native soil of Calvin and Beza. Here he would substitute the psalms of David for the songs of the Bards, and the sunless grove and Druidical circle would lose a portion of their votaries. As he came into their towns and villages, he would immediately be surrounded by crowds of this inquisitive people, and required to explain whence he came, and what was the news along the line of his journey. How eagerly would he catch at such an opening, and, informing them in proportion as they could bear it, tell them how he was the messenger of the Son of God, from what a glorious spiritual city he came, what joyous news he brought of redemption to lost man."—pp. 224, 225.

Would our readers see more of a disposition to eke out the paucity of known events by the pictures of a fertile and fervid imagination? The following description will suffice, although many and many might be added. It is of the early life and studies of Tatian :—

"Tatian was born on the extreme eastern verge of the Roman empire, in the province of Mesopotamia. Thus the banks of the Euphrates, which had already nursed up one false prophet in Balaam, were now destined to produce another. It was a barbarous province,—but, covered as it was with the wrecks of the civilization of the Assyrian empire, might have fostered in Tatian his natural eagerness of information. Babylon and Nineveh might be contemplated on the spot, amid the melancholy grandeur of their ruins. And he would be continually remanded to ancient writers for the history of the monuments by which he was surrounded. Like his master Justin, he was placed in a very peculiar neighbourhood. The country was the earliest seat of mankind, and was now filled with large and flourishing settlements of Jews. These would present themselves, with their striking peculiarities, wherever he went. But otherwise he remained as ignorant of them as his master had done, in similar circumstances, before him. Immediately around him was heard the Greek tongue, the universal language of civilization in the East. He was not long content with the sounds only of this beautiful tongue, but applied himself with unwearied diligence to its substantial treasures of a brilliant and extensive literature. He carefully perused its poets, historians, orators, and philosophers. To the latter he devoted so much attention, as to enrol himself among their number : of what sect he became the follower has not been recorded.

"But such studies, together perhaps with the eminence which he acquired from them, made him impatient of the obscurity of his native province. They had both moved his ambition, and had excited his eager curiosity to visit scenes which continually haunted his imagination. The gloomy fens, shapeless ruins, and unrefined people, by which he was surrounded, were in complete contrast with the picture of the native country of the writers with whom he had been so assiduously conversing. The humble and imperfect garb, too, with which the religion of the Greeks, which was his own and that of his fathers, was clad,

would make him long to see it in all its gorgeous dress of games, festivals, and mysteries, upon spots associated with exquisite description, romantic legend, or glorious historical circumstance; and under temples consecrated by the sacredness of the spot, the skill of the architect, and the fame of the founder. Under such a call, perhaps, which the event proved to have come from God, Tatian quitted the country of Abraham."—p. 162—164.

Now, this is ingenuity; but it is hardly *biography*. It almost sounds more like a poetical romance. And it is attended, we must repeat, with the disadvantage that, however felicitous Mr. Evans may be in his conjectures, we are accompanied with the feeling, that history ought not to be conjectural: and we almost begin to entertain doubts of the plainest objects before our eyes, as we appear to be travelling through regions so prolific of speculations, and so singularly barren of facts.

While we are in the mood of finding fault, we may proceed to observe, that we, as individuals,—although we are aware that the suffrage of the majority is on the other side,—should have preferred a style of composition simpler and more severe. Mr. Evans sometimes heaps up simile upon simile and prettiness upon prettiness, until his original idea is almost lost and smothered beneath the load of cumulative ornament. The taste of these embellishments seems to us more peculiarly questionable in a biographical or historical work; and most of all, in a work of sacred or at least ecclesiastical biography; and we cannot but be of opinion, that, as there is an incongruous mixture of theory and record, so there is a mixture quite as incongruous of comparisons and metaphors with literal description. We cannot soar to the high flight of such expressions as "*the lurid demoniacal glare of untempered worldly wisdom*," p. 36: we can scarcely understand how "*others, like rattlesnakes, gave warning by impure morals*;" nor can we consider the following as the fittest kind of illustration, where Mr. Evans is speaking of the celebrated treatise of Tatian, and his subsequent "*falling off*."

"Not only is it filled with much curious detail of early Christian opinion and practice, and of heathen antiquity, expressed in a style which is copious and select in choice of words, but it affects us with a respectful pity, as we bear in mind the fate of the gifted writer. We are struck with that kind of melancholy which we feel on gazing at the picture of a beautiful woman, illustrious from her misfortunes no less than from her rank. We dwell with delight upon her open brow of gladness, her clear, intelligent eye, her sweet smile at an admiring world impress upon her face; and in the next moment we reflect upon her after-days of darkness and distress, when her smiles were turned into tears, her gay robes into weeds of mourning. Then we begin to think that we detect the cause of her misfortunes in some peculiar expression of

the countenance, indicative of that point of character in which her weakness lay. So it is, when, in our admiration of this work, we reflect, as we read, that this truth was afterwards abandoned, that perverted, this replaced by its opposite error, and that the great store of learning which he brings to the defence of his holy cause involved the reason of his fall from the truth."—pp. 181, 182.

This volume, however, could not fail to be profoundly interesting. It suggests, at once, the finest and holiest associations. Where is the true Christian—where is the true Churchman, who can read the very names of Clement, the fellow labourer with the Apostles,—of Symeon—of Ignatius—of Polycarp—of Justin Martyr—of Irenæus—of Victor—of Tertullian, without feeling his spirit stirred within him, and his heart warmed and attracted to the subject. And Mr. Evans, in many respects, has done it ample justice. His comments are often luminous and profound; and his descriptions, for the most part, are vivid with life and beauty. How fine, for instance, is the following account of the martyrdom of Ignatius!

"He was now fast approaching the end which he had been so long and fervently desiring. A short delay was occasioned by their being baffled by the wind in an attempt to land at Puteoli, and considerable disappointment to Ignatius, who wished much to enter Italy at the same point as St. Paul, and pursue the track of his journey to Rome. They made land, however, at the port which was at the mouth of the Tiber. The soldiers hurried him hence, since they feared that the festival was fast running to its close, and the bishop as eagerly accompanied them. On reaching Rome, he was immediately surrounded by the brethren, who received him with a strange mixture of joy and sorrow—with joy at the sight of so holy and celebrated a man, who had been, like their lately lost Clement, a disciple of the Apostles; with sorrow that such a man would be so shortly lost to them and to the church. Some of them, in despite of the charge in his letter, eagerly demanded to interpose for his life. But he as eagerly repelled the proposal, repeating probably the several expressions of his letter: 'Let me be food for beasts, through whom I may attain unto God. I am God's wheat, and shall be ground by the teeth of beasts, so that I may be found pure bread of Christ.' 'May I have the benefit of the beasts which have been prepared for me, and I pray that they be found prepared for me. I will provoke them quickly to devour me, and not (as they have sometimes done) to cower and leave me alone. And if they be unwilling, I will force them. Pardon me, I know what is good for me. Now do I begin to be a disciple. Let nothing of things visible or invisible grudge me the attainment of Christ. Fire and the cross, and throngs of beasts, cutting, tearing asunder, wrenching of bones apart, chopping of limbs, the grinding of my whole body,—let all these evil inflictions of the devil come against me, provided only I win Christ.'* Such were the strong expressions of this honest and ardent martyr, who inherited much

* 1 Ep. Rom. 4. 5.

of the fire of St. Peter, by whom some say he was ordained bishop.* After having embraced them all, and asked from them that which was true charity, (namely, to let him die) and extended the exhortation which he had already given them by letter, they all knelt down, and he in the midst of them besought the Son of God in behalf of the Churches, for the ceasing of the persecution, and for the mutual love of the brethren. He was then hurried off to the amphitheatre.

“There, insolent with revelling, and maddened to cruelty by the sight of the blood of dying gladiators, the people of Rome were expecting the appearance of the old man, and raised, no doubt, a shout when he was produced before them. For the first time in his life he beheld the interior of an amphitheatre—a sight forbidden to the eyes of the Christian. He beheld the assembled majesty of the lords of this world, their senate, their magistrates, and, O strange and impious spectacle! their women and consecrated virgins, looking upon death’s shocking and varied agonies with composed countenances, and almost drinking in the streams of blood with their eyes, amid savage delight. It was truly the temple of the prince of this world. Can we wonder that, in such a place, generally began the first cry for persecution; † that there resided his peculiar inspiration; that there the sight of a helpless and venerable old man, of blameless life, and yet brought to suffer the death of the worst malefactors, ‡ moved no pity, but rather provoked rage? How little did the mighty ones of that day imagine, that the obscure sufferer, who stood before them, would leave behind him an everlasting name, to their shame, and to his Master’s glory; and that the blood of the saints, with which they were now drunken, should be the means of making many like him, until their whole empire should be full of them! Some few hearts, perhaps, at that moment, were pricked with the first entrance of God’s grace. They pitied, they admired, they loved, and they believed. They who began with the Amphitheatre ended with the Church. But the vast multitude, with shouts, beheld the preacher of love and peace placed upon the spot which was assigned to assassins and murderers, and cheered the beasts as they were loosed upon him. The agony of the blessed Martyr was short. The beasts quickly dispatched him, and so ravenously, that only the harder and more rugged bones were left. Thus was fulfilled his desire, that the beasts may be his tomb, and leave nothing of his body. So should he give trouble to none in collecting his remains.”§—66—69.

The death of Polycarp, again, is nobly told; although there are still left some tints of the marvellous. On incidental topics, too, Mr. Evans throws off many lucid and salutary remarks:—thus, more than once, on modern missions and missionaries, although a single quotation is here all that we can afford.

“Thus was he preparing himself for God’s call to service by the sedulous cultivation of his peculiar talents, when it came in a shape which may not appear to the eyes of many at this day to be at all suit-

* Chrysostom’s Sermon.

† Tertull. de Animâ. 33. de Spectac. 21.

‡ Tertull. de Spectac. 27.

§ Ep. Rom. 4.

able. It was to accompany a mission to a distant and imperfectly civilized land. The superior success of the Church in those times shows that she understood much better than we do now the requisites for such a service. She was not so foolishly regardless of the accomplishments of the missionary, as to suppose that mere zeal, seconded by a respectable fund of Scriptural knowledge, was sufficient. For the missionary, even among rude tribes, should be a man of no common information. He should know not only the Gospel, but the human heart and understanding too. For this, he must not only have studied his own mind, but have obtained further information from the writings of others. Particularly, he should be readily conversant with all the great questions of natural religion, and with the various shapes which it assumes in the minds of men, in all the stages from superstition to infidelity. With these, both common sense and Scriptural example* tell us that he must begin. It is the only way whereby to cleanse out the old corruption from the vessel, this alone can mix like the soap with the filth, and make the way for its removal by the pure water of the Gospel. Otherwise, he pursues a still more fruitless task than he who would wash, with mere water, a garment soiled with the dust and dirt of years. There must be this medium. The cross of Christ cannot come into immediate contact with the staff of the augur, or wand of the diviner: the atonement cannot be appreciated by men ignorant of the attributes of the one God, as felt and seen in themselves and in all around; it will but add an element to the deadly superstition in which they are involved. To such questions, whether he will or not, the missionary will quickly be brought by the many hesitations and objections which he will encounter amongst such hearers. And if he be found wanting here, how shall he be listened to any longer? Shall he, they may say, who cannot explain the elements, pretend to teach a system? Shall he who is ignorant of outward things, conduct to inward? When they have at last, by question and answer, discovered the utter inefficacy of all human knowledge and means to obtain that which the contemplation of a just and good God creates in the heart of sinful and sorrowing man, then comes the acceptable time of the Gospel. It was on such principles that the primitive Church, when she sent a missionary to India, selected the philosopher Pantænus, and among the preachers whom she was now sending to Gaul, included Irenæus."—p. 218—220.

Much useful information is also interspersed in this volume respecting the delusions of the Gnostics in general, the Marcionites, the Montanists, and other heretics of ancient days. In fact, Mr. Evans seems to cherish a cordial and unappeasable hatred of all kinds of heresy. He tells us,

"Dionysius has left the only name of any note which the Church of Corinth can boast: and the fact shows the lamentable effects of schism in obscuring the glory, no less than in corrupting the faith, of a Church. Where are now those noisy and factious brawlers, who sought fame and

* Acts, xvii.

profit by tearing asunder the bonds of charity, who on their narrow stage and in their little day exalted themselves by resisting authorities and reviling dignities? Their memory instantly sank into the dark oblivious receptacle of the fame of knaves and fools. Happy for them, if one great day should never revive it."—p. 197.

Mr. Evans has written *con amore*, as, perhaps, every biographer should write. Transporting himself back to the times of the Fathers, and imbibing the spirit of their writings, he has almost become enamoured of their persons and their works; while a certain reflection of self-love has, perhaps, enhanced his admiration of men, whose merits he has undertaken to exhibit, and of productions which have occupied so much of his own time and attention; until from the eminence on which he supposes himself to be placed, he looks down with a sort of contempt on the unfortunate moderns,

"Such men as live in these degenerate days."

He says,—and here, it may be, he has rather overstated than mistaken the truth,—

"The writings of the Fathers have been generally treated with little ceremony as compositions. Are the writings of this day superior? Do we not see in every department of our literature the same symptoms of decline as marked that of their days? Nay, see we not worse? There is, in our general periodical literature, a rapidly debasing cause at work, which was unknown in their days. Before this, all accuracy and depth of knowledge, all anxiety for truth, all good taste, all manly judgment, all purity of language, is fast giving way. Such qualities cannot generally exist in writings which are to be read to-day and to be forgotten to-morrow. Can any sacred compositions of this day be compared with those of the Fathers? Where is the vigour of mind and deep erudition of Clement and Tertullian? What passages shall we compare with the noble strains which they breathe? Where shall we find that rich variety of matter which they contain? The best proof of their superiority is the fact that our best divinity has been derived from them. The most vigorous, the most beautiful, the most copious of our writers, they that have been models to posterity, are they also who drank deepest from this source. Nor will this brilliant school be revived in the Church, before its sons resort to the same fountain."—p. 407.

Again, he says,

"We cannot but acknowledge, that the stage of society in which we are moving is precisely the same with that in which the world, revelling in all the pride and luxury of refined civilization, persecuted the heralds of truth and messengers of salvation, in which the Fathers preached, and wrote, and suffered. Nor can all its splendour of inventions for the enjoyment of life hide from the eye, which is wise enough and honest enough to look steadily at an unwelcome truth, both its moral and intel-

lectual degeneracy. From this our position, then, we can view the examples of that period with exceeding interest ; and a brief comparison with them on the several points just discussed will not be unprofitable." —p. 405.

Now, here we must enter our protest. Comparing our own age with the ages which have more immediately preceded it,—comparing our own age, as far as we have materials of comparison, with the ages in which the Fathers flourished,—we deny the intellectual degeneracy, we deny the moral degeneracy. And we repeat, not without anxiety, what we have urged before, that it is almost a libel upon Christianity, to assert as concurrent phenomena visible throughout the course of successive generations, the spread of the Gospel, and the deterioration of mankind. We are not among those, who, in their aspiring self-complacency, lift up the perpetual cry,—

‘*Ἡμεῖς τοὶ πατέρων μεγ’ ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι*,—

who fancy themselves, indeed, so much wiser and better than their fathers, that the experience of other days may be disregarded, that the writings of other days may be left mouldering on the shelf ; for that the notions which they contain are superannuated and obsolete ; and that the history of past and darker periods can be no guide for the enlightened, or rather *illuminated* periods, present and to come. But still less are we among those, who are for ever croaking and complaining of degeneracy. Our views are full of hope. Wicked and foolish as the world is, there is, even now, we firmly believe, more in it of both virtue and knowledge than at any former period. And if learning of any particular kind does not penetrate to so great a depth, we may derive some satisfaction from the thought, that it at least extends over a much larger superficies.

Then, too, as to the Fathers themselves. They enjoyed auspicious and glorious opportunities, which we can never enjoy : they stood near the purest fountains of inspiration on subjects of the most transcendent importance. Their testimony, therefore, is above all price. Some of them had even communion with the Apostles of our Lord—with men divinely inspired, and with the opinions, and the practices, and the institutions of those men. On such matters, therefore, their statements, if we merely deem them honest and competent as witnesses, should be received with almost implicit reverence. But they were themselves uninspired ; and, as being uninspired, were fallible and frail. They possessed, and they used, the vast advantages of their age and their position : but they also possessed, and they exhibited, the defects of their age and their position. Not even their theology, perhaps, was always

sound; and, beyond the range of theology, several of their notions were singularly crude, and puerile, and fantastic.

But many compositions of the Fathers will soon be brought before us in an imposing and unexceptionable form; and, therefore, on the present occasion we refrain from saying more. Yet one caution must we reiterate. In the case of patristical learning, as in any other, serious mischief will be done by any attempt to prove too much in its behalf; by not adjusting the right limits, and by not drawing the necessary distinctions. The voice of sacred antiquity was too long unheeded. But the study of the Fathers has revived. The stream of public attention is now running in its favour. And most heartily do we rejoice to behold these increasing symptoms of health and vigour in the divinity of our time. Let us not, however, cease to bear in mind, that extremes have always begotten, and are now, perhaps, begetting, and *will* always beget, extremes. Inordinate praise will be followed by inordinate disparagement. Whatever has been extravagantly lauded is soon wantonly decried. Wherever there is *excess*, there is sure to be *re-action*.

At present, indeed, there exists an opposition, far from contemptible, to any exaggerated estimate of the patristical writings; and, unless we are mistaken, a stronger spirit will be soon manifested against any statements with regard to them, which are not guarded with strict accuracy and caution. For example,—not to mention Dr. Chalmers and a score of others,—the author of *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*, has a section which gives a *Sketch of the Enthusiasm of the Early Church*; and while he afterwards traces the matter with a considerable degree of perspicuity, and candour, and discernment, he begins it thus:—

“An intelligent Christian, fraught with scriptural principles in their simplicity and purity, but hitherto uninformed of Church history, who should peruse discursively the ecclesiastical writers of the age of Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory Nyssen, would presently recoil with an emotion of disappointment, perplexity, and alarm. That, within a period which does not exceed the reach of oral tradition, the religion of the Apostles should have so much changed its character, and so much have lost its beauty, he could not have supposed possible. He has heard of the corruptions of popery, and of the enormous abuses prevalent in ‘the dark ages;’ and he has been told too, by those who had a special argument to prop, that the era of the secular prosperity of the Church was that also of the incipient corruption of religion. But he finds in fact, that there is scarcely an error of doctrine, or an absurdity of practice, ordinarily attributed to the popes and councils of later times, and commonly included in the indictment against Rome, which may not, in its elements, or even in a developed form, be traced to the writings of those

whose ancestors, at the third or fourth remove only, were the hearers of Paul and John.

“But after the first shock of such an unprepared perusal of the Fathers has passed, and when calm reflection has returned, and especially when, by taking up these early writers from the commencement, the progression of decay and preversion has been gradually and distinctly contemplated, then, though the disappointment will in great part remain, the appalling surmises at first engendered in the modern reader's mind, will be dispelled, and he will even be able to pursue his course of reading with pleasure, and to derive from it much solid instruction.”—*Natural History of Enthusiasm*, pp. 185, 186.

The study of the Fathers is an essential branch of clerical—we might almost say—of Christian education. And so thought our own reformers; as the Homilies, for instance, are studded and almost paved with citations from them, and allusions to them. But it can scarcely be necessary to observe, that there is a wide distinction to be drawn, between attaching an immense importance to the prominent parts of ecclesiastical history, the concurrent testimony of the Catholic Church, and the collective verdict of the Fathers, where Fathers are unanimous, and paying an unmeasured deference to the private opinions of any *particular* Father, or being wrapt in admiration of his polemical disquisitions.

Yet, of a truth, these deficiencies of the Fathers, being precisely what might have been expected in the nature of things, neither ought to dishearten the student, nor do they detract much from the interest and value of the compositions. In one respect, indeed, they give them an *additional* value; namely, by affording a collateral but very strong evidence of the inspiration of the writers of the New Testament. For, on the one side, we have natural talents as great, and in most instances greater; we have higher advantages of education and condition in life; on the other side, we have discrimination, and wisdom, and moderation, and spiritual knowledge, so infinitely superior, that the leap is actually from the perfect to the imperfect, from that which is free from fancifulness and error to that which is sprinkled over with fancifulness and error; and the only reasonable solution of the difficulty seems really to be, that the Apostles and the Evangelists were favoured with extraordinary influences from the Divine Spirit, but that the Fathers were without them. This inference indeed has been drawn, as by many others, so by Mr. Evans himself. For he says,

“This very defect of the earliest specimen of Ecclesiastical history bears a strong testimony to the inspiration of Scripture. Matthew, Mark, and John were fellow-countrymen of Hegesippus. Why then did not one of them exhibit, as well as he, some specimen of their na-

tional credulity, which reduces all the uninspired writings of the Jews (certainly after the Christian æra) to a heap of fables, which bear falsehood in their face? * Why should their narratives bear all the marks of truth? The supernatural grace of God could alone have freed them from this besetting sin of their origin, and the discernment of the strict truth alone could have suggested so chastened an expression of facts."—pp. 208, 209.

On the whole, as we look calmly at this volume, our particular, and perhaps almost captious objections, are merged in our general admiration of the ability, erudition, and piety which it displays. If Mr. Evans is sometimes too eager in his pursuit of what he himself calls "*the painted butterflies of showy conjecture*," there is a large amount of solid information to be gathered from his pages. If from the mere process of writing he grows attached to the subjects of whom he writes, it must not be supposed that he is a wholesale and indiscriminate eulogiser of all the logic and all the rhetoric of all the Fathers. He is not blind to the mystical reveries of some, or to the sophistical refinements of others, and their fondness for superstitious and legendary tales; to the "credulous and uncritical investigation" of Hegesippus and Papias, or to the intemperate, caustic, and overbearing impetuosity of the fiery Tertullian. And if we are crabbed enough to call out for greater plainness of narration, Mr. Evans may think, not without some appearance of reason, that the remarkable popularity of his contributions to the Theological Library proves us to be in the wrong; for we know, indeed, that his poetical and ornate style has found, and will find, a very large class of admirers; and the sweets of public favour will afford him a far more than adequate compensation for any sourness of our criticism.

ART. VII.—1. *Histoire de la Réformation du seizième Siècle*. Par J. H. Merle d'Aubigné. Tome Premier. Genève. 1835.

2. *Le Protestant*. *Journal Théologique et Religieux*. No. 2. Février. 1836. Genève.

3. *Lectures on the insufficiency of Unrevealed Religion, and on the succeeding influences of Christianity*. Delivered in the English Chapel at Rome. By the Rev. Richard Burgess, Chaplain. 1832. Rivingtons. London. 8vo.

4. *A Sermon delivered in the English Chapel at Rome, April 10th, 1836*. By the Rev. Richard Burgess, B.D., Chaplain.

WE invite the attention of our readers to a few observations upon

* The exception of the freethinking Josephus only proves the rule.

some of the present prospects of the Church of Rome ABROAD. Although we have not scrupled, fearlessly, and at much risk of misrepresentation, to reprobate the proceedings of certain Ultra-Protestants AT HOME, we have, nevertheless, felt the liveliest interest in the progress of the Reformation. That great moral change is still in a state of transition. Its commencement is a fact of history; its middle stage is a matter of present observation; its completion is yet an object of Christian hope: and feeling, as we do, that the truest interests of our common humanity are identified with its success, we are the more concerned when any of its promoters betray "a zeal that is without knowledge."

We have often, and copiously, given our views upon this question, so far as it affects our own land: it will therefore be perfectly in order, and may be a most interesting employment, to transfer our attention to other countries, and selecting some of those which are the most morally prominent, to inquire, whether, therein, the Church of Rome is losing ground, or, having heretofore lost, is likely to repossess it. It is for this purpose we have selected the publications placed at the head of this article. Merle d'Aubigné's History, written by a man whose life has been passed amid the scenes of the earliest events of the Reformation; *Le Protestant*, a Genevese publication, containing a little, rabid attack upon one of our former articles; together with Mr. Burgess's sermons, preached at the very seat of Papacy, will furnish us with sundry documents wherewith to prosecute our investigations.

We perfectly agree with M. Merle, that "the history of the Reformation is a different thing from the history of Protestantism: that in the former every thing bears the stamp of a regeneration of humanity, of a religious and social transformation that emanated from God: that in the latter, we too often perceive a marked degeneration of first principles, the struggle of parties, the spirit of sect, the impress of little individualities." Some forms of Protestantism are infinitely more mischievous, more soul-destructive, with less of true Christianity, than Papacy. Their relationship to the Reformation is chiefly chronological. The characteristic of that great event was its solemn assertion of the adequacy of Christ's merits for our justification before the Deity. All the other protestations ascribed to it of the fallibility of the Church, of the right of private judgment, of the sufficiency of Scripture, were but auxiliaries in its support. They, therefore, who deny *that doctrine*, have no more right to claim common cause with the Reformers, merely because they have abjured all sacerdotal usur-

pation, than if they went still farther and abjured a scriptural supremacy altogether.

Nothing can be more certain than that Luther, the Father of the Reformation, had no conception of arousing a heterogeneous mass of dissidents in hostility to the Roman hierarchy, when he first uttered his protestation against INDULGENCES. If, at the time that Tetzel was traversing Germany in the prosecution of his nefarious traffic, there had been bodies of men, exerting their talents and learning in a deliberate denial of the Divinity of Christ,—or in contemptuous ridicule of his substitutionary atonement,—or in the subjugation of the truths of Revelation to the yoke of Rationalism,—what can be more certain, than that leaving the Dominican as comparatively harmless,—all his enthusiasm and learning and eloquence would have been first directed against these deadlier opponents of Christianity? “*Que d’hommes respectables, que de vrais chrétiens n’a pas renfermés l’Eglise catholique!*” Thus writes M. Merle; and we agree with him, and so would Luther. But in consistency with our common creed, we cannot apply the same apostrophe to men who are just as much Christians as they are infidels; an approximation towards both. And therefore *their* secession from the Church of Rome we should call a DETERIORATION, rather than a REFORM.

We have made these remarks in order to introduce and illustrate a general observation as to the present prospects of the Papacy in some foreign countries. Take many parts of Germany,—take Geneva likewise, for instance, and we contend that upon this principle, Roman Catholicism has the vantage-ground in point of religious purity, and that therefore, as an affair of moral calculation, she is likely to repossess the territory she has long since lost.

That we are not speaking without authority, let us seek for testimonies as to the character of Protestantism in many parts of Germany. “The prodigious schism which divides the theologians of our German Church,” says Professor Tholuck, “is not unknown to your countrymen. The rationalism of Germany is the terror of the greater part of Christendom where the English language is spoken; although, if I am accurately informed, there are in England, Scotland, and North America, a number of persons who are casting longing eyes towards German rationalism, as towards a forbidden tree of the knowledge of good and evil, desirous themselves to taste its fruits, and therewith also to make their countrymen wise. Permit me then to present you with a brief compendium of this system: the majority of the books of the Old Testament do not proceed from the authors to whom they are ascribed. Several, such as Daniel, have been by a pious

*Rationalism
German*

fraud, fathered upon the prophets; Christ and the Apostles were fallible men, who, though possessed of many good moral principles, were swayed by gross Jewish superstition; our accounts of the history of Jesus are full of *M  thoi*, which a love of the miraculous tempted the Jews of the first century to frame; even the declarations of Christ himself have not come down to us precisely in the form in which he delivered them; his disciples put much into his mouth which he never spoke; what Jesus of Nazareth really taught can now no more be known with certainty; but it is unquestionable, that his originally simple doctrine has been greatly corrupted by Paul, who engrafted upon it the important articles of original sin and redemption, which he had borrowed from his own Jewish theology; and these came afterwards to be regarded as Christian doctrines, although nothing can be more contrary to the understanding." After some other observations as to the origin of this heresy, Professor Tholuck adds, "The strenuous industry of the greatest part of the theologians, philosophers, historians, and even naturalists of Germany, has been engaged in strengthening and establishing it. Whoever knows what German industry can do, may form some conjectures of the success which has attended its efforts when once enlisted in the cause of infidelity."*

This is German Protestantism! in the land of Luther! We have adduced this extract, because it is so succinct a summary of the leading features of a heresy, which too many have ignorantly reviled. It is enough to show us the miserable uncertainties, the fluctuations of this Protestant creed. How must its disciples "be driven about by every wind of doctrine!" Spiritual ACADEMICS! But the human mind cannot remain long in such unsettledness. It involves such incessant activity that sooner or later, in pure exhaustion, it will throw itself upon the nearest spot that promises stability, incurious about the nature of its resting-place. That nearest spot to the German mind is Roman Catholicism.

That it may not be thought that this opinion is the offspring of an over-heated imagination, stimulated by professional antipathies, we beg our readers to refer to the Preliminary Dissertation of Professor Dugald Stewart. That calm, accomplished writer, referring to a statement of M. de Bonald in regard to the diversity of philosophical opinions in Germany, says, "Some recent conversions to Popery, which in consequence of views similar to those of M. de Bonald, have taken place among the philosophers of Germany, afford a proof that in the present political state of Europe, the danger of a temporary relapse into the su-

* Tholuck on the Romans, vol. i. pp. ix. x.

perstitutions of the Church of Rome, how slight soever, ought not to be regarded as altogether visionary.”*

And further we are expressly borne out in our opinion by M. Merle d’Aubigné, an eye-witness, who, after a careful survey of his native country, says,

“Un grand vague de doctrine règne dans plusieurs de ces Eglises réformées, dont les membres primitifs ont scellé de leur sang la foi précise et vivante qui les animait. Des hommes remarquables par leurs lumières, sensibles à tout ce que cette terre présente de beau, s’y trouvent emportés dans de singulières aberrations. Une foi générale à la divinité de l’Evangile est le seul étendard que l’on veuille maintenir. Mais qu’est ce que cet Evangile ? C’est là le tout de la question.”—p. 14.

Immediately upon this he writes,

“Il est singulier de voir un grand nombre des hommes qu’agit à cette heure un besoin vague de croire à quelque CHOSE DE FIXE, s’adresser maintenant au vieux Catholicisme. En un sens, ce mouvement est naturel ; la religion est si peu connue, que l’on ne pense pas la trouver ailleurs que là où on la voit affichée en grandes lettres, sur une enseigne que le temps a rendue respectable.”

There is a peculiarity in this case which aggravates the danger of a still more general conformity. Extremes naturally lead to each other. Now German Rationalism and Popery are more opposite extremes than Popery and Infidelity. They diverge in contrary directions from a common point : or rather they are the ends of a segment ;—they have a common centre. Both recognize the Scriptures : both entertain intense feelings of concern upon the subject. Infidelity has often been regarded as the opposite extreme to Popery, just as incredulity is opposed to credulity. Herein it hath a common quality with Rationalism. But the latter hath an additional element of opposition : it hath *feeling*. This must increase the pressure of pain and uneasiness arising from its perpetual fluctuations : if it could, like Infidelity, be perfectly unconcerned, its scepticism would be rather an amusement. On this ground therefore we should feel any thing but surprise to hear,—that worn out with crying “What is truth ?” and with its captiousness in receiving answers, it soon gave heed to a rejoinder that forbad further examination by its claims to infallibility.

But let us turn our attention to some parts of Switzerland, Geneva for example. It can no longer be concealed under the thin veil of liberalism, that most of the Genevese Churches are Socinian. With an unaccountable vagueness of phraseology, they and many of their kindred societies in England and America, have too long endeavoured to mislead us, as to their views of the Di-

* Dugald Stewart’s Preliminary Dissertation to Encyclopædia Britannica, p. 230.

vinity and Atonement of our blessed Lord. Only that it involves such awful consequences, and therefore is at variance with any feeling of levity,—or it would be highly amusing to remark how these men display their dexterity in employing a spiritual phraseology so vague and so ambiguous. We mean not to offer any opinion as to the wisdom of Mr. Hartley, an English clergyman at Geneva, when, at the convention of the Jubilee of the Reformation in 1835, he protested in the name of our Church against the heresy of Unitarianism. We only advert to it for the sake of adducing an instance of that vagueness, that ambiguity in language, which we have just charged against that system, and which we cannot but consider *intentional*:

“ Mais une voix qui se fit entendre sut dissiper l'étonnement et le malaise, si je puis ainsi dire, que les accusations de M. John Hartley avaient causés. Cette voix, c'était celle de M. le Professeur de Perrot. L'honorable député de Neuchâtel fit passer dans tous les cœurs les saintes émotions et les mouvemens affectueux dont son âme était pénétrée ; son accent inspiré, sa parole chaleureuse, firent revivre avec plus de force que jamais les sentimens qu'un amer dogmatisme avait voulu dessécher, et il n'y eut personne qui ne se sentit ému jusqu'aux larmes, lorsque donnant le signal du départ le digne pasteur s'écria : ‘ Recevez l'expression de notre plus vive reconnaissance, Messieurs et bien aimés frères en Jesus Christ, respectables pasteurs de cette chère Eglise de Genève. Vous nous avez ouvert deux grandes sources d'édification ; celle de la piété en Jesus Christ et celle des délices de la fraternité. Maintenant nous tous qui nous sommes réunis ici à votre invitation, Allemands, Suisses, Français, Anglais, Américains, pasteurs de tout pays et de toute langue, retenons avec soin cette sève intarissable de sainteté et de vie. Jésus Christ et Jésus Christ crucifié, voilà, mes très chères frères, les sentimens avec lesquels je me sépare de votre chère Eglise, voilà ce que je remporterai d'ici en retournant auprès de mes paroissiens ; j'irai leur dire le bonheur que j'ai goûté au milieu de vous ; je leur dirai que la fête de la Réformation, la fête de l'Evangile, pour laquelle nous étions accourus de toutes parts à Genève, a été dignement célébrée, et que le nom de notre grand Dieu et Sauveur Jésus Christ a été hautement proclamé à la face de toutes les Eglises ; et je renouvellerai avec plus de ferveur mes vœux et mes bénédictions pour vous et pour votre Eglise. Pour l'amour de l'Eternel notre Dieu, je ne cesserai de faire des vœux pour son bonheur.’ ”

It will be seen that here was an attempt to propitiate an assembly irritated by an interruption in its proceedings. “ *Jesus Christ et JESUS CHRIST crucifié*, ”—the talisman! in an assembly whose heterodoxy upon the Atonement is notorious! The adoption of such a phraseology at such a moment was as much as to say to the English Church,—“ You see we can use this language as willingly as yourselves: it is a matter of perfect indifference to us: it shall be our badge as well as your's.” We ask in all

honesty and straight-forwardness, is not this pusillanimity? The speaker must have known as well as we do, that the meaning which he and his brethren attach to this sentence is as diverse from our interpretation as light is from darkness. It shows therefore that the uniformity to which they aspire is one of *language*, not of *thought*.

To rake up the strife of a foreign municipal assembly, and at such an interval, would be very unnecessary now, if it were not for the purpose of disclosing the real spirit of Genevese Protestantism, and likewise of making the "*retort courtoise*" to the angry editor of this periodical. One of its articles is headed, "*Attaque du British Critic contre l'Eglise nationale de Genève.*" It informs its readers that "*Le British Critic* (quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record) qui se publie à Londres, est la revue du parti opposé à toute modification soit dans la forme, soit dans la théologie constituée de l'Eglise Anglicane; c'est le champion du *statu quo* absolu. L'article du journal auquel nous faisons allusion est contenu dans le N°. de Juillet, 1835, sous ce titre : *Etat de l'Eglise nationale de Genève.*" We beg to thank our foreign cotemporary for any honourable position into which it thrusts us, after which our own modesty could never have aspired. The head and front of our offending is, that in our opinion, "*Toutes ces Eglises qui sont affranchies du joug des confessions de foi, ou seulement suspectés de s'éloigner des théories athanasienues, sont, à ce seul titre, décrétées d'infidélité à la Bible, et représentées comme près de tomber en ruines.*" It would be doing this pamphlet too much honour, and would consume space and time which might be devoted to a much better purpose, if we were to follow the writer through all his petty vituperations. Should this article fall into his hands, we beg to assure him that we are not INTOLERANT; we are not attached to the oppressions of the sixteenth century, nor are we desirous of reviving them, any more than himself. We beg to tell him, that we have never thought his Church of such relative importance as to indulge in misrepresentations, all for "*le dépit de voir une Eglise de quelque renom prospérer sous les auspices d'une liberté dont on ne veut pas pour soi-même.*" We do not believe that "*l'Eglise de Genève est une protestation vivante contre la nécessité prétendue des confessions de foi pour le maintien de l'ordre, de la foi et de la charité, dans les Eglises chrétiennes.*" How long, forsooth, we should like to ask, has this doctrinally ANONYMOUS Church existed? So long, under these auspices, as to justify, already, a confidence that she will continue? We are not quite so rash as to abjure a monarchy and become democrats,—thus renouncing the wisdom of ages,—because republican America

hath been prosperous for a few short years. And no more are we inclined to condemn order and definiteness of doctrine in our Church polity, simply because a few Genevese Churches, in contempt of their own past history, and in the very teeth of their human founder, allow their members to believe every thing or nothing.

But enough of this. It is more than possible that this will never meet the eye of our assailant. Our object in referring to it is more for our own readers,—to show them how lamentably unstable, how “baseless, like the fabric of a vision,” must be the foundation of this form of Protestantism. We are not too wholesale in our condemnation of it when we predict, that soon it will merge itself in the shoreless, unfathomable confusion of German Rationalism. Speaking of the convention at Geneva, to which we have referred already, “*Le Protestant*” quotes the words of one of the German deputies.

“L’invitation adressée aux Eglises de la confession d’Augsbourg, et la présence des députés de ces Eglises a proclamé aussi ce grand fait; c’est que les communions réformée et luthérienne ont renoncé pour jamais à cet esprit de rivalité qui les anima jadis l’une contre l’autre, et veulent, malgré la différence de leurs doctrines et de leurs formes ecclésiastiques, soutenir entre elles des rapports de fraternité. Qui ne se féliciterait de voir accomplie une réconciliation que tant d’efforts répétés pendant trois siècles n’avaient pu opérer! nous devons cet heureux changement au progrès des lumières religieuses, dont l’influence pour la paix et l’union du monde chrétien s’est montrée ici dans tout son jour.

“Mais il est un troisième fait encore plus intéressant peut-être qui ressort de la célébration du jubilé de Genève, et qui donne à cette solennité une grande importance historique. C’était une question solennelle adressée au monde protestant savoir, si la nouvelle science théologique qui tient compte des lumières acquises et repandues depuis trois siècles, était dans les vœux de la majorité des Eglises; ou bien si comme le prétendent les défenseurs de l’ancienne théologie, les doctrines de Calvin et de Luther devaient régner encore dans toute leur raideur et leur immobilité. La présence d’environ 200 députés de presque toutes les portions du monde protestant a été la réponse à cette question solennelle.”

Such facts as these convince us,—however much the Genevese Protestants may condemn our opinion,—that the Church of Rome is every moment gaining higher vantage-ground amongst them. Popery, with all her ignorance, and superstitions, and tyranny, is infinitely preferable to the false philosophy and latitudinarianism of Socinus. She may attempt to imprison the human mind, but conserving as she does the truths of Christ’s Divinity and Atonement—the soul’s bread of life—she doles out, within the cell, a

sufficiency for its existence. But assuredly that system which in pretending to emancipate the mind tears it from all essential truths as well as pernicious prejudices,—only knocks off the fetters of the captive and leaves him to starvation. The Church of Rome insists on those doctrines in reference to which it is said “He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.” Socinianism does NOT.

We may safely lay it down as a rule for our moral calculation in this matter, that whenever Popery is more *spiritually* excellent than her antagonist, she will be secure of triumph. She is transcendant in all her other forces. In policy, in vigilance, in singleness of purpose, in accommodation to human frailties and human passions,—she is unrivalled. How accumulated, therefore, are the probabilities that she will conquer when opposed by a system as inferior to her even in moral worth, as in the arts and stratagems of conflict! In Rationalism all is cold and lifeless. It has no warm blood; no veins, no pulse. It may delight a *few* minds with its topics of speculation—or its demands for critical acumen;—but it has no affinities with man’s affection. What can it answer satisfactorily to the wounded conscience; or the heart riven with grief, and begging consolation;—or to the spirit bowed down with disappointment and looking wishfully for some good ground of future hope?—Nothing. But these great attributes of religion are in Popery, though, like precious stones, they are so encrusted, that, only in certain light, their points of crystal can be seen to glisten. She tells of a Saviour’s love and death, and resurrection, and ascension. She thus speaks of pardon to the remorseful,—of sympathy with the afflicted,—of hope to the despondent. And with this mighty superiority above her rival, in asking for the suffrages of men, can there be any doubt whatever, that, if their competition is uninterrupted, she will obtain the mastery? Add to all this, that her rival is supine—indifferent;—and the chances in her favour are redoubled.

We shall not be thought to have become enamoured with Popery, from this one preference of her to the bitterest enemy of Christ’s cross. Though not equally, yet as honestly, we are opposed to both, and therefore, it is oftentimes our duty, in anticipation of her competition with OURSELVES, to calculate to the very utmost, her claims to human favour.

How intensely anxious the Roman hierarchy must be to regain their footing upon that soil, from which Luther and Calvin drove them! Like the prey maddened with its wound, they must turn with special malignity upon the hunters!—alas! that *there* the right arm is withered!

But it is now time to direct our attention to another spot.

We wish to transport our readers from these scenes to the city of Rome itself. We come therefore to Mr. Burgess's volume. It would destroy the unity of our purpose in writing this article, if we entered into a detailed examination of his lectures on "the insufficiency of Unrevealed Religion." Let it suffice for us to introduce them to the notice of our readers, as well worthy their study,—for considerable research, truly Christian spirit, and no small degree of elegance in composition. They must have been most calculated to do good to the audiences to whom they were originally addressed. We shall leave them, however, for the present, and confine ourselves to the very interesting Preface which introduces them.

Mr. Burgess—the first Chaplain of the English Reformed Church at Rome—has given us the history of its institution. He says most justly, "The existence of a Protestant Chapel at Rome, where the service of the Church of England is regularly performed during six months of the year, is of itself a circumstance worthy of attention; for, whether it be viewed as a striking instance of religious toleration, coming in an unexpected direction, or as the means of softening those prejudices which the comprehensive term of heretic conveys to the vulgar, it cannot fail to be an object of interest to every one who espouses the cause of civil and religious liberty." Thanks be to God,—that though the time *was* when such was *her power* to aid her lynx-eyed detections, that truth could not be whispered with impunity in a monk's cell to his own heart,—the time *is* that she connives at its bold utterance, even within her walls. Be the causes what they may, she now tolerates a sound among the "Seven Hills," which once she made to mingle with moans that "vales redoubled to the hills, and they to heaven." Such a fact as this ought not to be overlooked by us in our present question, what are the prospects of the Church of Rome *abroad*? Is she become truly tolerant? Has she relaxed her frown, to smile upon us with some complacency? In what spirit ought we to receive this act of grace and tenderness? Mr. Burgess asserts that "such an act of liberality has proceeded from the councils of the *Vatican*:" that "the English chapel may now be considered as having the sanction of the Papal government, although no official grant has yet been made which would ever acknowledge its existence."

It is truly interesting to follow this little society through its first critical stages: we can therefore do no better than to let Mr. Burgess tell his own tale:—

"As early as the winter of 1816-17, English families began to reside in Rome in sufficient numbers to require 'an house' for public worship: considerable difficulty was then experienced in procuring an apartment

to be dedicated to such a purpose; the object was new, alarming and contrary to the existing laws, but at length, through the influence of Signor Luigi Chiaveri, to whom the English have often been indebted for his kind offices in this respect, a private room was obtained, near the column of Trajan, and thus began the service of the reformed Church of England in the 'Holy City!' The duties were discharged by any clergyman who, happening to be present, had the zeal to offer his gratuitous services: the necessary expenses were defrayed by the voluntary contributions of the congregation, and the slender funds administered by the kindness of Lieutenant-General Ramsay.

"As no permission had been obtained from the authorities (for such a demand must necessarily have been met by a refusal), the new 'conventicle' owed its existence entirely to the forbearance of the government. But it was not clear whether such mildness might not soon have to yield to the more austere interpreters of the law, and it is said, that the attention of a high dignitary, attracted by the concourse of vehicles during divine service, had nearly proved fatal.

"There can, indeed, be no doubt that some representation was formally made of the illegality and danger of permitting such an unheard-of assembly, and a word from the Vatican at that moment, might have dissolved the elements of it without doing much violence to the opinion of any one. The enlightened and liberal Gonsalvi, however, perceiving that the English were at Rome in the nineteenth century, and Catholic Ireland still laboured under civil disabilities, would know nothing of an illegal assembly in the 'Forum of Trajan,' and that assembly duly appreciated his liberality.

"It is not to be supposed that there was any intention on the part of the civil authorities, to introduce the principle of religious toleration into the city of Rome; such a supposition would be little less than an impeachment of the minister: nor did the appearance of a new kind of worship work wonders in the sentiments of the listless multitude, but it had the effect of making some of them suspect that heresy, according to the definition they had heard of it, might not be altogether synonymous with infidelity, and the very circumstance of choosing a 'festival' (Sunday) for the day of worship, showed at least some traces of Church authority. It was soon discovered by the most intelligent of the lower orders, to which, of course, these remarks apply, that the English had a sort of mass of their own, and the solemnity observable in their manner of attending to it was archly compared with the careless genuflections of the Roman signori. In this manner the forbearance of the government was transfused into the minds of such of the populace as thought at all on the subject: it was not provided that it should be so, it was a natural consequence. During the first two or three seasons, such may be considered to have been the secret moral influence of the English congregations, and the most zealous guardians of pontifical authority had nothing to fear, and, it is to be hoped, never will have from any overt acts of proselytism on the part of the officiating ministers. The protection afforded to the new congregation, although but a negative one, had been hitherto sufficient for all practical purposes; but it was still equi-

vocal, and when the old apartment could no longer be procured, it was not possible to induce a private individual to incur the responsibility of becoming the new landlord; the displeasure of the authorities might be incurred. There was something which still required explanation, a public assembly of this nature, in the house of a Roman citizen, might cause him to be placed at the bar of the * Inquisition; at the same time a semi-official intimidation was given, that great caution and privacy should be observed by the English in the exercise of their privilege. It would, however, have required a very vigorous execution of the law to prevent a foreigner, who had already his 'own hired house,' from inviting his countrymen to a private assembly; and under this form (it must be confessed a pretext) divine service was celebrated in a commodious room in the Vicolo degli Avignonesi, situated near the site of the ancient circus of Flora! Thus did the Protestant congregation migrate from Trajan's Forum to the opposite declivity of the Quirinal Hill. The privacy suggested by the secretary of state was, perhaps, the best method of co-operating with his benevolent intentions: a motive less dignified may not be imputed to the virtuous mind of Pope Pius VII. At that period it would not have been difficult to outrage the feelings of many devout plebeians by an over-ready sanction of the non-conformity. Evident marks of pious indignation had been more than once observed in the populace at the sight of the Protestant bier; and although the more enlightened portion of the community were far from joining in this display of superstition, it shows that, if a less liberal policy with regard to the English worship had been adopted by the government, it would not have been at variance with the then popular feeling: that it was not adopted does honour to the memory of Pius VII. and his minister. But ten years have been sufficient to change that feeling as much in favour of the institution, as ever it could be against the precarious assembly; and it is now perhaps regarded by that same populace as the surest pledge of those advantages which they expect from the presence of the English.*

We could not have abridged this extract without destroying that continuity of statement which may enable our readers to judge as to the motives that actuated the papal government in its courtesy to the English residents. But again.—No sooner had our countrymen obtained the privileges of public worship, than their attention was directed to the plan hitherto allowed them for Protestant sepulture. "Beyond the Aventine Mount, and under the walls of the city within, stood a few scattered tomb-stones, exposed to the trampling of cattle grazing in the *Preta del Popolo*, and to the still greater injury of human footsteps." They applied to the competent authorities for leave to secure the graves and

* This word must not be allowed to convey to the reader any false notions. The Inquisition at Rome (although contrary in principle to all our ideas of religious liberty) is, at this time, a mild tribunal in its administration; some cases of injustice there must necessarily be, but it is of no use to deal in misrepresentation.

† P. 11, 12.

monuments from further encroachment. This application, however, was unsuccessful. But soon, and entirely at the expense of the Apostolic chamber, this old burial-place was secured from violation, and a new and more "eligible spot of ground was surrounded by a solid wall, and henceforth assigned for the Protestant cemetery."

These are the principal facts in Mr. Burgess's preface, from which we can draw our inferences as to the present disposition of the Papal government towards Protestantism. To say the least, they prove that either its original disposition of cruel intolerance is meliorated, or some mighty pressure from without has prevented its continued indulgence. We were at first disposed to infer the former; to hope that, if no holier cause could be assigned, the progress of science and literature had humanized it. We did not for one moment suspect that it felt a growing inclination to break down its pale of exclusiveness and admit our title to Christian brotherhood. No analogy would ever warrant such an inference. Its experience, since the reformation, of steady determined opposition in its path of error, must only have chafed and maddened it. We were, therefore, soon relieved from our indecision on reading the following: "*This answer*" (viz. the refusal of the authorities to allow the British residents to secure their old burial-place, and for which purpose they had obtained some large contributions.) "*This answer being received, and no further hopes of success held out, the money subscribed was returned to the original donors, and the circumstance made an unfavourable impression abroad of the toleration of the Papal government. In a discussion of the Catholic claims in the House of Lords, a noble lord, an opposer of those claims, was not slow to cite this as a remarkable instance of Roman Catholic intolerance. . . . The discussion in the British senate was not, however, unheeded in the Vatican council; for during that very summer, and entirely at the expense of the 'Apostolic chamber,' a sunk fence was dug round the old burial-place; another eligible spot of ground beyond the pyramid was surrounded by a solid wall, and henceforth assigned for the Protestant cemetery.*" Are we uncharitable in regarding this as the key to the whole of their behaviour? Had there been no Catholic claims to be ceded by the British government, can we suppose that, for one moment, an English congregation would have been suffered to assemble, and an English Protestant clergyman to officiate? If, during our present ecclesiastical struggles, the "Apostolical Chamber" should make further largesses to this congregation and its clergyman,—and if, in advocacy of tolerance, an Irish Catholic member should point to acts so gracious and thence draw a contrast, in order to put us to shame, will true

charity require us to admit the truth of his allegation? We speak thus, because we think that this is only a precious specimen of that meekness and brotherly kindness which are now so frequently the themes of Roman Catholic eulogium. We shall be glad to be mistaken.

The Papal hierarchy are, we fear, as immutable in their spirit as in their creed. We shall be wise to remember this. At the same time that we avoid returning "evil for evil," we are not incautiously to consider ourselves obliged to them for "good." And we, therefore, think the above solution of their unwonted gentleness at Rome invaluable.

Mr. Burgess deserves the warmest eulogium for the wisdom and prudent conciliativeness with which he discharged the duties of his chaplainship. Had he shown a misguided zeal in an attempt to make his Church a nucleus of Protestantism, to which to attract the floating elements of scepticism and indecision that are to be found even in the bosom of the Romans,—(and that by an ostentatious machinery),—instead of being so useful, he had been mischievous to the cause of his master. And yet there was no compromise, no unfaithfulness, in his public ministry. If our limits permitted it, we might make many extracts from his lectures, of calm, shrewd discussion of points of controversy between Papists and Protestants, introduced without a violent interruption of the unity of his discourse, and prosecuted without rancour. But he felt, and justly too, that an unobtrusive but active exhibition of Christian philanthropy would do more than the most boisterous dogmatism. He therefore diligently cultivated in his flock the habits of benevolence, and thus speaks of his success.

"In considering the happy influence gradually effected in the minds of the common people by the growth of this institution, the charitable fund is an important feature. It consisted at first of the alms collected at the holy communion. Cases of distressed British subjects being very rare at Rome, the whole of this fund was applied to the relief of the Italian paupers: in 1827 and 1828 it grew into still greater importance. The number of applicants, as may easily be imagined, was by far too heavy for the funds: about 200 names were already inscribed in the lists, which reduced the monthly relief to a very small pittance; so that, without either diminishing the number of pensioners, or increasing the funds for a more generous relief of the whole, the charity was in danger of promoting mendicity, rather than adapted to the effectual succour of the deserving indigent, and the encouragement of honest industry. It was only necessary to make the circumstances known to decide upon the alternative. The chaplain had recourse to the means of a charity sermon, which was preached on the 30th of March, 1828, and was the cause of nearly 120*l.* being added to the stock. The alms collected at the altar were proportionally increased, so that in the course of this season about 1200 dollars (270*l.*) was distributed in monthly relief: and this,

independently of private donations, in some special cases, which did not appear upon the charity books. The rumour of English munificence now ran through the habitations of misery, the parish priests were assailed for their official signatures to the numerous petitions which set forth in all the varied eloquence of the Italian language, the miseries of poverty and disease. The successful candidates extolled too highly the 'alms-giving nation,' and gave the less fortunate false notions of its eleemosynary deeds. The rule to be observed by the administrators of the funds was simple. It was to calculate how many families might be effectually relieved during the winter months, and then make the selection from such recommendations and knowledge of the cases, as made out the best title to their consideration, the names already on the list having of course the first claim to investigation: but since written recommendations were sometimes too easily procured, the chaplain, whose business it had now become to dispense the charity of this congregation, could hardly discharge the duty conscientiously without a personal verification of the varied pretensions, to accomplish which task it was necessary to visit 150 abodes of poverty. In this manner the charity books were made conformable to the increased resources, and by a careful distribution the whole was adequate to the relief of about 230 families. This may suffice without entering into the 'annals of the poor,' or the affecting narratives of decayed nobility, to give the reader an idea of the nature and extent of British charity at Rome. Let him not say that it 'begins at home,' for this will not add one more gift to the domestic 'treasury,' and it might take one from the 'poveri vergognosi;' let him lament (if it seems reasonable) the temporary absence of his fellow citizens; but if the Samaritan does 'journey in the wilderness,' it is better not to imitate the priest and the levite: and if it be expedient for a strange community, enjoying the advantages of a foreign country, and receiving the hospitable protection of its government, to make any return, there can be none more suitable than when partaking of the local privileges, to share proportionally the burden of alleviating the local distresses."

He records likewise another instance of, we think, affecting beauty.

"A learned rabbi, encouraged by the impartial benevolence of the English congregation, represented to the author the misery and poverty of the Ghetto, and wondered whether the despised could ever find a drop of pity in the breast of a Christian. Upon being told, that in the dispensing of the English charity there was no distinction of persons, and that the superior claim only came from the greater weight of misery, the Israelite rejoiced, and considered the sum of 5*l.*, given during the week of the Passover, as an ample confirmation of 'the good report:' this was repeated in subsequent years, and the English bounty was dispensed, in unleavened bread, through the squalid habitations of this unprivileged people."

But we must bring these remarks to a close. One most extraordinary fact, however, should not be omitted; viz. that when

summoned from Rome, to the living of Upper Chelsea, Mr. Burgess was engaged in a printed controversy with one of the principal English Catholic dignitaries. This, more than all the other events of his chaplaincy, promises the most satisfactory consequences. That the Church of Rome should allow its principles to be canvassed, even on her own territory, is surely a step as unwonted as it is auspicious.

There are many other aspects in which the foreign relations of the Church of Rome might be considered; but we forbear. Possibly, upon some future occasion, we may renew our observations, and therein embrace the countries of France and Spain and Portugal;—scenes, in which there are now going on events of incalculable moment, as to their bearings upon religion. At present, we shall not, in vain, have entered into the inquiry just instituted, if we arise from it with a determination, more seriously than ever, to examine into our own principles of Protestantism, and more cautiously than ever to regard the ostensible motives of Papal courtesy.

ART. VIII.—*Sermons preached before the University of Oxford.*

By Edward Denison, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St. Peter's in the East, Oxford, Fellow of Merton College, and Prebendary of Southwell. Oxford: Talboys. London: Rivingtons. 1836. 8vo.

THERE is, to our minds, a very attractive tone in these sermons,—the tone of genuine devotion, and oftentimes of touching simplicity. Learned, without the ostentation of learning, and evangelical, without the cant and affectation of *pseudo-evangelicalism*, they indicate the biblical and patristical scholar, the careful divine, the sincere and serious Christian. Well adapted for an academic audience, and especially for the more youthful part of it, they would have been popular, we should suppose, if addressed from almost any pulpit to almost any congregation. Even, temperate, unaffected, they flow on with a stream of mild and often solemn reflection; and derive their power rather from a gentle and pervading persuasiveness, than from the bursts and flashes of a high and vehement oratory. The vein of thought, too, is pure rather than deep; and the discourses, perhaps, are not conspicuous for striking and original views, either in theology or in morals. The style is pleasing,—sometimes classical and graceful,—and particular passages might be selected of great beauty. It wants, however, impetus, rapidity, and concentration; and several, therefore, of the discourses *drag* towards the conclusion. In general, perhaps, *as*

wholes, they are somewhat loosely and feebly put together; but in every one of them is much of excellent and profitable matter. Mr. Denison, in short, shines in the calm, the affectionate, the didactic,—not in the fervent, impassioned, or rhetorical; which, indeed, he very rarely attempts. We subjoin two examples,—favourable, perhaps, but not partial, which constitute the exordium and the peroration—but these words are too fine for Mr. Denison's unassuming mode of treating his subjects—the beginning, then, and the end of the second sermon, having for its text, “*Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity.*”—

“Such is the declaration with which the wise King of Israel opens this, the book of his experience and advice—a declaration full of melancholy meaning, which but too probably may touch a responsive chord in some bosoms, witnessing more plainly to its truth than any language; while others, especially those who are conversant with profane literature, will readily remember many passages which express a like sentiment.

“It cannot indeed have escaped the notice of any persons, who are acquainted with the writings of classic antiquity, that the views of life there exhibited are tinged with a prevailing sadness. Nor is this the case only with professed moralists, who might be suspected of having assumed a tone of seriousness as befitting their subjects, and of having fallen into melancholy sentiments, when they meant only to be grave. But the reflections which are scattered at random through the pages of the poets, and which are the more to be relied upon, as being either casual indications of the tone of feeling pervading their own minds, or such as they conceived would excite ready sympathy in the minds of others, are almost universally of this cast. The epic and dramatic poets would readily supply illustrations of this observation. But it is more obviously confirmed by the numberless lighter works of fancy—by those epigrams, which, from their curious felicity of expression, are apt to dwell in our memory—and which turn most commonly on the miseries of sickness, poverty, old age; disappointed love, faithless friendship, and the other sadder features of human life.

“Even the poets, known among their contemporaries as the ministers of pleasure—the jovial priests of revelry, have by some strange fatality, with few exceptions, been preserved to us only in fragments of the most sad and gloomy character. The plaintive melancholy of Minnervus, Simonides, and Moschus, seldom fails to strike even the unreflecting mind of boyhood. Few probably have read, without feelings of sympathy, the pathetic lines, in which the latter poet compares vegetable life, bursting into fresh existence with each returning spring, with the cheerless doom of man, the ‘mighty, the brave, and the wise, who, when death once comes upon us,’

ἀνάνκοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλα

Ἐνδομες, ἐν μάλα μακρὸν, ἀτέρμονα, νήγρετον ὕπνον.

“We can hardly be wrong in considering the prevalence of this

language as a proof of a discontented feeling, which extended itself over all the region of thought—followed the dance—crept into the banquet—disturbed with uneasy anticipations the gay vivacity of youth; and heightened the cheerless gloom of what the tragic poet calls, ‘hateful, unsocial, friendless old age.’

“Nor shall we probably err in conceiving, that the deficiencies of their religious system had much to do with these melancholy views of life, and foreboding anticipations of death. Human existence, bounded by the narrow limits of earth, presented little to satisfy an immortal spirit. The dark and dismal future overshadowed present existence with a reflected gloom; and they who looked forward without hope, looked backward with regret, and around with dissatisfaction.

“Not that it would follow from this, that this sadness was necessarily everywhere visible in the general aspect of society; or that the minds, even of those who used this language of melancholy foreboding, were in all cases themselves seriously affected by it. The great mass of mankind probably then were, as indeed they ever have been, thoughtless of these things; and toiled on in the business, or fluttered about in the pleasures of life, without extending their thoughts beyond the more immediate objects of fear or hope. But though the multitude is thoughtless, language is the expression of thought; and its tone is derived from the sentiments of those who do think. And as now, when reflecting men are cheered by the glorious hope of immortality, the expression of such sentiments passes far more widely than the sentiments themselves; and language is christianized, even in the mouths of those who are not Christians; so may we conceive, that in former ages, when those who thought, thought sadly, the tone of their meditations passed current into the conventional language of society, and was reflected back in varied and multiplied images in the writings of authors, on whose minds, perhaps, it made no more permanent impression, than passing objects do on the mirror or the lake.”—pp. 29—32.

“Some, by station or abilities, may be fitted to mix more prominently in the absorbing cares of public business; while the lot of others is cast in the more private walks of life. To one wealth is entrusted, as the talent, of which he will have to give account; while another is exercised in the trials which poverty calls forth. Some are destined for the laborious industry of active worldly professions; some for the more tranquil interests of scientific or literary pursuits; while others are called to the high service of ministering in the sanctuary of God, and preaching the gospel of pardon and peace. But will there then necessarily be vanity in these things? Assuredly, my brethren, not. The path of Christian duty will be vanity to no man. To no man will it be vanity in Christian love to labour for the good of his fellow-men, and the glory of his Maker, in that station in which it shall have pleased God to place him. Will it be vanity, by active industry, to raise ourselves into a sphere in which our influence may be more widely felt, and God’s name, by our means, more highly honoured? Will it be vanity to give our best talents for the public good? Will it be vanity to stand forward as the patriot senator, to defend the rights, and promote the

best interests of our fellow-men, knowing that it is for the good of all that power has been entrusted to some? Will it be vanity, with calm and considerate wisdom, to check the fierce impulse, and stem the heady tide of popular feeling, and with firmness to curb in the licentious anarchy of the bad? Will it be vanity, by scientific research, to bring the powers of the natural world into subjection to the mind of man, and to make the brute and inert matter around us contribute to the civilization and improvement of the human race? Will it be vanity to open the storehouse of imagination for the delight and improvement of kindred minds? To give of our intellect for the enjoyment of others; and, by embodying our ideas in the imperishable symbols of thought, to exercise a mysterious influence for good, not only upon those around us now, but upon the unborn generations, who will hereafter take our place? Will it be vanity, as the minister of God, and steward of the mysteries of Christ, to co-operate with Him in his gracious work of bringing back a sinful world to righteousness and peace?

"No, my brethren, these things will not be vanity. They will not be vanity, if done as God has willed they should be done, in remembrance of His law, as the rule of action; in dependence on His grace for the means of obedience; with a view to His kingdom for its reward; and to His glory as the end. In this way the labours of the poor, and the leisure of the rich; poverty on the one hand, and wealth on the other; government and obedience, knowledge and ignorance, power and weakness, are all performing the parts assigned to them by the all-wise Ruler of the world: and if they do but perform them in accordance with His will, no one of them is either to be blamed or despised. If God's glory be kept in view, and God's commandments observed, not the least thing that is done on earth, or the most trivial occupation, is either vanity or vexation of spirit. Cares, low in themselves, are exalted and sanctified by motive and principle. The eye, the hand, and the foot, are all parts of the body equally essential to the good of the whole. St. Paul says, '*whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God.*' If all we do, even our very slightest concerns, may be to the glory of God, they cannot be vanity. If in doing them we '*rejoice evermore,*' they cannot be vexation of spirit. And '*If these things are good and profitable to men,*' it cannot be said that there is nothing that profiteth under the sun.

"But, on the contrary, if the things of this world be to us all in all; if the glory of God be not kept in view; the peace He gives not sought for; and future happiness not made the object of present action; if the heart be unsanctified by the indwelling spirit of grace; if it be worldly, proud, selfish, uncharitable, and vain, then, indeed, can they to whom these things are so, well estimate the sad truth, and the painful reality of the words of the wise king of Israel. Then, indeed, is it true, that mirth is sorrow, and laughter heaviness. Then is wealth a weary burden, and poverty a bitter curse. Then is occupation without interest, and leisure without repose: labour fruitless; knowledge vain; power contemptible; and wisdom foolishness. Then, indeed, is every thing

'vanity and vexation of spirit, and there is nothing that profiteth under the sun.'"—p. 50—53.

Having given this specimen of Mr. Denison's style, we must also make room for one of his theology; and it is really curious, all things being considered:—

"We shall see that the Scriptures were not, in their origin, that which we have been erroneously led to expect them to be; that, in fact, they were not for the most part a revelation to those persons to whom they were addressed. They were written to those who were already believers in Christianity; and they were not therefore so much designed to teach them new truths, as to remind them of 'the certainty of those things wherein *they had been instructed.*' They exhort them 'to hold fast the form of sound words which they *had heard,*' to 'stand fast, and hold the traditions which they *had been taught, whether by word or epistle,*' to *continue in the faith,* grounded and settled, and not to be moved away from the hope of the Gospel, which they *had heard, and which was preached to them.*' To 'continue in the things which they *had learned,* and had been assured of, knowing of whom they *had learned them.*' To 'hold fast the faithful word as they *had been taught.*' The epistles abound in expressions of this kind, all pointing to the truth, that the scheme of Christian faith was conveyed to the first converts by the preaching of the Apostles; and that it was the office of those, who were duly authorized for this purpose, to 'commit to faithful men, able to teach others, the things that they had themselves heard of the Apostles among many witnesses.' The Apostolic writings, therefore, were never intended to teach the body of Christian doctrine to persons utterly ignorant of the truth. This was the office of the Apostles themselves in their preaching, and of those who were duly commissioned by them to carry on this work. The Scriptures came in to explain, to establish, to correct, to edify. The Church taught that which it had received as a precious deposit from the Lord. The written word was given as the perpetual rule of faith, to which all teaching was to be referred, and on which alone its authority was to rest. And for this purpose its sanctions were so fully supplied, that no portion of necessary truth has been left without this confirmation. Therefore, though the Scriptures were not the primary or sole channel of conveying the revelation of God to man—though the scheme of Christian faith was not drawn out of them, but they arose out of it; still is it the case, that '*Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith.*'"—p. 82—84.

And so far this brief and inadequate criticism was written, as a mere notice of the work, before we had heard that Mr. Denison was promoted into the hierarchy of the empire. But let it stand; it will speak our sentiments the more plainly and openly. It may show, although some of our future observations may not

please the author, that we are not actuated by any personal ill-will. We much admire his sermons, although the volume is not of very heavy calibre; we have every kind and respectful feeling towards himself; but, as to being raised to the Episcopal bench, we may at least say, *that it was not his turn*.

Mr. Denison is not positively exceptionable: but in a matter of this kind, it is impossible but that comparisons should be instituted. We have regarded him as a very amiable man, of promising talents, and rising reputation, who had a right to look forward, after several more years of exertion, to a deanery, or even a bishopric. But, since he is made a *bishop now*, we are compelled to think of those who are *not* bishops—men who have done more service to the Church than Mr. Denison, and, therefore, who deserve better its honours and rewards,—men older than Mr. Denison, and, therefore, who could not so well afford to *wait* for them,—men who have been Mr. Denison's instructors and guides, and over whose heads, therefore, he ought hardly to be lifted.

It is most painful that we have thus to speak of pious, learned, and estimable individuals. But the interests of the Church must not be sacrificed to an overstrained delicacy. The abuse of Church patronage, by calling up an outcry for popular election and for subversive changes, will, in these times, work more mischief and confusion to the Establishment than all the labours of all the Commissioners will ever do good. Not, however, that the present instance can be fairly stigmatized as an *abuse*. The voice of the University is said to be in its favour. And we have no intention—certainly, we can have no right—to insinuate that Dr. Denison will not become the mitre, and make an excellent prelate; although we should feel a yet stronger security in the care of a man whose actions and opinions were more known, and had been longer before the world. We do not allege that Mr. Denison is unworthy; but we cannot forget others who, for the present at least, must be deemed worthier.

In many institutions and many appointments, we have lately observed a marked tendency, whenever there was a vacancy to be filled up, to prefer the youngest candidate, simply because he was the youngest. We have known men treated as past their prime at thirty-five, and at forty as superannuated. Now, we have serious doubts whether this system will work well. It brings some persons forward too prominently, and before their time; and it inflicts a loss upon the country, by depriving it of the labour of others,—which might be most productive labour,—by throwing them upon the shelf, and consigning them, for the remainder of their days, to a disheartened and discontented inac-

tivity. With respect to the Church, and ecclesiastical appointments, the anomaly, as the mischief, is aggravated in a ten-fold degree. We can perceive obvious reasons, why a youthful general or admiral should sometimes be selected; because, in war, his ardour and eagerness may be an advantage; because physical energy may be quite as necessary as intellectual or moral; because bold decision and quick dispatch may be even more valuable than a staid and halting caution. But in a bishop of the Church, unimpassioned discretion, zeal corrected by experience, piety tempered by moderation, a large and well-digested knowledge of men as well as books, a mild and chastened wisdom, a kind and sober dignity, are the qualities pre-eminently required; and these belong to the period of existence which has arrived at serenity, although it may not be yet on the threshold of decrepitude. In the Apostolical, and therefore the best times, the idea of a Presbyter was connected, in the reality as in the etymology, with the idea of ripened years; and the bishop, surely, ought not, in general cases, to be a younger man than the priest. We say in general cases; for transcendent superiority, or extraordinary services, *may* sometimes deserve and demand exaltation at once; and some particular exigency *may* arise, when all common rules must be abandoned. But we do not see why an exception should now have been made. In Hallam's *Middle Ages*, and in almost every work of ecclesiastical history, we find that the worst times of the Church were times when even mere youths were pushed upward into the Episcopate; and if we require sacred and divine authority, our Lord did not suppose that younger men generally would be exalted over older when he said, in preaching humility, "*he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger.*"

It has been stated—we know not with what truth—that, in Mr. Denison's instance, the bishopric was offered and accepted, without any stipulations as to future conduct—any pledges given or proposed. If such be the fact, the matter is, in our eyes, worse instead of better. For these stipulations—these *implied* pledges,—or some "untoward" demonstration that might seem connected with them,—formed the obstacle, as we understood, to the elevation of other divines,—more than one of whom might almost have been Mr. Denison's father,—who are now passed over for life. But if no stipulations were to be made—if no pledges were to be exacted—the Prime Minister could be no longer circumscribed in the objects of his patronage; he had before him an ample, a most ample, field of choice; and the neglect of claims, which will occur to all our readers, could be no longer an exercise of judgment, but an indulgence of spleen.

We have done. Our present task, we say again, has been a most painful one. We can write nothing more on these disagreeable and invidious topics; it is with the utmost reluctance that we have written on them at all. In our position, and with our thoughts, envy we cannot feel, rivalry we cannot entertain. But the Church, *viewed as a profession*, already presents many aspects, which must cause intense solicitude to the hearts of those who are anxious for its welfare. Many things conspire against it; many things concur to strip it of its authority with the people, and to snatch a vast portion of its old parochial influence out of its hands. Heaven forefend, that favouritism in the distribution of its highest dignities and emoluments should be added to the disadvantages with which it has to struggle. Favouritism, we mean, in that milder and better sense, in which alone it can be applicable to Mr. Denison,—by which a man, however meritorious in himself, owes his rapid and unexpected elevation to political bias and parliamentary connexions, and so becomes a “Right Reverend Father in God” in the early part of middle age. That flagitious and intolerable kind of favouritism, which would force upon the clergy altogether obnoxious and objectionable prelates, we do not impute—we will not even suppose possible. It would, we are sure, defeat its own purposes. We speak with solemn earnestness; for we speak what we thoroughly believe. A Church despotism would lead to a Church democracy. There is a Church democracy even now, which a vigorous prudence is required to put down. The clergy will not look on with patience, if men are invested with almost absolute power whom they cannot trust; if men are appointed as Bishops over them, who will not deal with themselves fairly, honestly, righteously, and who will betray their cause to their worst enemies. If the ministers of the Crown should ever have the wickedness and the infatuation to set such men, or rather *attempt* to set them, in the highest places of the Church, let them beware of an insurrection—the insurrection, not of a riotous mob, not of a mutinous and undisciplined army, but of earnest and conscientious men, who, for the Gospel’s sake, would bear injury—would bear insult—would bear both injury and insult together; but who cannot and will not bear them, if their religion is to be outraged, at the same time that they are injured and insulted. But so far, for the present, the Establishment is safe.

- ART. IX.—1. *The Christian Atonement ; its basis, nature, and bearings ; or the Principle of Substitution illustrated as applied to the Redemption of Man. With Notes and Illustrations.* By the Rev. Joseph Gilbert. London : Ball, 1836.
2. *The Doctrine of Atonement and Sacrifice, evinced from the Scriptures and confirmed from the Sacraments ; Errors considered ; and the Difficulties of Theists and Infidels removed.* By John Whitley, D. D., T. C. D. London : Duncan, 1836.

THE impression left upon the mind after reading these two volumes is, first, that the authors are dissatisfied with all the writers who have preceded them on the same subject ; and, secondly, that they themselves have given occasion for a similar complaint to all who shall happen to resume the inquiry in future times. Nor is it surprising that such should be the result of examining into the arguments even of the ablest men who have undertaken to explain the mystery of the atonement ; for the difficulties which are inseparable from that portion of the Divine counsels, which even the angels cannot comprehend, have been in no small degree increased by the hypothetical positions of professional commentators, who, in unfolding their several schemes of interpretation, have trusted more to their own ingenuity than to the simple narrative of the inspired volume.

The main source of the obscurity which clouds all theories on the atonement will, we think, be found to arise from the want of precise ideas as to the object of the Christian redemption ; or, in other words, the nature and extent of the benefit procured to us by the merciful interposition of Jesus Christ. Some of our best divines, who viewed the loss sustained in our first parents as consisting of an entire deprivation of immortality, have maintained that the great purpose of our Saviour's mediation was to restore to the whole human race the blessing of a never-ending existence, together with the use of all such means of grace as might be necessary for its attainment. Had the obedience of Adam stood the test to which it was exposed in paradise, the reward, it is concluded, would have been everlasting life, in the enjoyment of happiness, and free from all fear of change ; while the penalty of transgression was death both of soul and body,—an utter extinction of the whole man, sensitive and intellectual—a return to the dust out of which he was taken, and wherein he was to sleep to all eternity, as if he had never derived from the breathing of the Almighty the principles of feeling and thought. And as our first father had the sentence of mortality passed upon him, so all his descendants would, in like manner, have returned

unto the earth to perish like the beasts of the field, had not the Son of God interposed to save them from that hopeless condition. Hence the cheering and triumphant words of St. Paul, "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

It is manifest, that throughout the New Testament there is a contrast either expressed or implied, between the effects of Adam's transgression and of the mediation accomplished by our Redeemer; the one occasions death, the other brings life; as in the one, all die; so, in the other shall all live. It therefore becomes important to ascertain in what sense the words *death* and *life* are used in the Apostolical writings, in order that we may arrive at a safe conclusion with respect to the hopes which belong to the Christian faith; those hopes which are constantly presented to us as the chief motive to shun evil and to do good.

Does the word *death*, then, in the third chapter of Genesis, mean only the utter and eternal destruction of man, body and spirit: or does it rather import the everlasting punishment of the soul in the regions of despair? It is well known that the term *death*, as used in the works of systematic divines, has both the meanings now stated. When applied to the body it denotes the departure of the vital principle, the dissolution of the constituent parts of the material frame, and the everlasting extinction of consciousness. When applied to the soul, it indicates a state of suffering which is never to end; and hence, as it implies incessant pain, a mortal agony which yet attains not its consummation in rendering its victim insensible, it is technically described as "eternal death." From this radical distinction in the two meanings assigned to the same term, have arisen the principal controversies concerning the object and extent of our Saviour's mediation. It is clear from the language of the Apostle that, whatever was the extent of our loss in Adam, the same is the extent of the benefaction bestowed by Christ; and as the one was universal, so must the other be universal. The inquiry, therefore, in some degree reduces itself to a grammatical analysis of the expressions employed by the sacred writers; and it will be found, accordingly, that we have two systems of theology, resting upon the two different acceptations of the word *die* as used by St. Paul in the brief proposition contained in the twenty-second verse of the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians.

The supporters of the one system, as already noticed, interpret the denunciation, "in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die," as implying that the punishment of disobedience amounted to an entire and everlasting extinction of existence, and that our first parents were literally to return to the earth out of which they had been recently formed. Bishop Bull, in allusion to

this dreadful penalty, calls it a death *without hope of any resurrection*. "It is plain," says he, "both from Scripture, and the consentient testimony of the ancient Catholic writers, that there was a covenant of life made with man in his state of innocence; that this covenant was by the transgression of the protoplast made void both to him and his posterity; that all his posterity as such were thereby wholly excluded from the promise of eternal life made in that covenant, and consequently subjected to a necessity of death without hope of any resurrection; that, as such, they are only under the obligation of the law of nature and the dictates of common reason; that this law hath not the reward of eternal life annexed; and that there is no covenant of life eternal, which God ever entered into with the posterity of fallen Adam, but that only which is confirmed and ratified in Christ, and which is by consequence the very same with the Gospel itself."*

St. Austin, proceeding on a similar ground, quotes the remark of the Apostle, that "the body is *dead* because of sin, and contrasts it with an expression in the following verse, namely, that God by his spirit would quicken the *mortal* bodies of Christians. "Corpus, inquit, mortuum est, non propter fragilitatem terrenam, quia de terræ pulvere factum est, sed propter peccatum. Et vigilantissimè non ait mortale sed mortuum." He adds that man was originally made with a mortal body, which, however, if he had continued in obedience, would have been rendered immortal; and that it was only on account of sin that the *mortal* became *dead*. "Sic et illud corpus jam erat mortale, quum mortalitatem fuerat absumptura mutatio in æternam incorruptionem, si in homine justitia, id est, obedientia permaneret; sed ipsum mortale non est factum mortuum nisi propter peccatum."†

The Bishop of Hippo Regius, in short, held the opinion, entertained by many English theologians, that Adam was not originally invested with immortality, as a gift of nature, but that it was promised to him by covenant, on the condition of obedience. At his fall, accordingly, the blessing of eternal life was forfeited; and his descendants being involved in the penalty, were made subject to the dominion of death for ever and ever. Among the native authors to whom allusion has just been made, we may in addition to Bishop Bull, mention the names of Archbishop King, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Warburton, and Bishop Law. Some of these prelates, however, as well as the most distinguished of their followers, misled by the scholastic notion that, if the soul of man be immaterial, *it must be immortal*, have perplexed themselves

* "The State of Men before the Fall." Works, Oxford edition, vol. ii., p. 276.

† De Peccat. merit. et remiss.

with conjectures as to the condition of departed spirits, had not Christ come into the world to redeem their bodies from the power of the grave. Bishop Law, indeed, endeavoured to avoid the difficulty involved in this hypothesis, by assuming that the death denounced against eating the forbidden fruit, meant the death of the whole man, or the complete extinction of consciousness; but to support this opinion, he seems to have deemed it necessary to deny the separate existence and immateriality of the soul, and to have considered the powers of perception, thought, and volition, either as resulting from the particular organization of the brain, or as mere qualities added to the cerebral matter contained in the skull. Such, at least, appears to be the doctrine taught in his critical dissertation "concerning the use of the words soul and spirit in Holy Scripture, and on the state of the dead there described;" though in his Notes on King's Essay on the Origin of Evil, he may be regarded as adhering to the more common conclusions relative to the nature of the thinking principle in the human being, and as teaching in the approved language of metaphysics the immateriality of the soul.

Nor were such opinions confined to the learned members of the Church. In Dr. Taylor's work on the Scripture doctrine of the Atonement, there will be found among some very objectionable passages, the clearest indication of sound views on this particular head. Speaking of the Levitical Law, he remarks, that considered with relation to its sacrificial institutions, it did not extend to the world to come; "for it gave not the least hope or prospect of a resurrection, which is the most proper and complete justification, or discharge, from sin."—"Its best promises entitled a man only to a temporal political life; and its threatenings were death without the hopes of a revival; and thus it left the Jews in their sins, as to that eternal life, which is the gift of God in Jesus Christ our Lord." He further observes that the "atonement of Christ's blood extended to sins committed by those who had been dead long before he was crucified, and, as to Adam's sin, procuring a resurrection to all mankind, subjected to death in consequence of his first transgression."

There are, it is well known, certain teachers who, confiding in the conclusions of St. Austin, confirmed by the school of Geneva, maintain that the punishment, denounced in the ears of our first parents, meant not the entire destruction of their being by the hand of death, but the torment of their souls in the bottomless pit throughout all eternity. And it is added, by the same commentators, that the sin which brought down upon Adam and Eve this tremendous sentence, is conveyed unto all their posterity by natural generation; so that all who proceed from them in that way

are conceived and born in sin; are under the displeasure and curse of God; bond-slaves to Satan, and justly liable to all punishments, not in this world only, but also in that which is to come; and that the punishments to which for the original sin, they are liable in the world to come, are everlasting separation from the comfortable presence of God, and most grievous torments in soul and body, in hell-fire for ever and ever."

This revolting doctrine was not heard of in the Church till towards the end of the fourth century, when the Bishop of Hippo, whose name has been just repeated, allowed himself to be carried by his zeal against the heresy of Pelagius, from one extreme to that which was directly opposite and equally erroneous. After the Reformation the same tenet was adopted by Calvin in opposition to the Socinian hypothesis which, in what relates to the fall, symbolizes with the dogmas of the Welch heresiarch. In reply to such reasoning, it might be sufficient to state that the original words in which the doom on the first sinners was pronounced, do not in any instance import the everlasting torture of soul and body. The expression "surely die" occurs in the books of Moses more than twenty times, and in no case does it extend its meaning beyond death in its ordinary acceptation. It is applied indiscriminately to man and to the inferior animals; whence it is manifest that, so far as any opinion can be founded on the use or sense of the term, the modern hypothesis cannot derive any countenance from an examination of the Sacred text.

Besides, the great apostle asserts, that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive; a doctrine which cannot be rendered consistent with the analogy of Scripture and the common belief of mankind, except on the supposition that the redemption accomplished by our Blessed Saviour, as it respects the *whole human race*, extends only to the resurrection of the body after it has been dissolved in the grave. There is no assurance given with regard to the everlasting welfare of the soul. According to this system nothing more is maintained than that man, by the intercession of the Redeemer, is made an immortal being; but the question whether he is to enjoy a happy immortality is to be determined on other grounds, and is viewed by the divines to whom we now allude, as depending upon the use which he shall make of the means of grace supplied to him in the Gospel. In one word, they tell us that the penalty inflicted on Adam was the forfeit of eternal life considered as the reward of obedience, and of all the blessings contingent on a future existence; adding, that this loss would have extended to all his posterity, had not the second Adam interposed to save them from annihilation, and thereby to become to them the resurrection and

the life. Hence, if these theological tenets be well founded, it follows that mankind may enjoy the fruits of Christ's mediation, and yet not be eternally saved ; they are restored, indeed, to immortality, but not necessarily secured in the enjoyment of that happy state which is reserved for those who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for honour and glory in heaven. The redemption which is here defined is strictly a universal redemption, inasmuch as it is conferred on every descendant of the primæval transgressors, securing his release from the bonds of death and the prison of the grave ; but it does not comprehend eternal happiness as a necessary accompaniment or inseparable result.

If the doom pronounced in the garden of Eden, so far from being limited to the simple extinction of consciousness, really inflicted everlasting torment in hell, and if this was the death which all die in Adam ; then it follows, according to the strictest rules of reasoning, that the life procured for all the sons of men by the interposition of Jesus Christ, must be eternal happiness in heaven. This conclusion follows from that common rule of logic which gives to terms opposed to each other, a corresponding comprehension in their import ; and on this principle it is perfectly obvious that, whatever the death in Adam implies, the life in Christ must imply something directly opposite, and at the same time precisely equivalent in its extent. In short, if the one means loss of immortality, the other must mean the restoration of immortality ; and if the first denotes never-ending pain among damned spirits, the last must denote never-ending happiness in the presence of God.

But does any body of Christians admit the doctrine that all men are to be eternally happy ? There are, indeed, a few professors of the Gospel who hold this conclusion, though utterly inconsistent with the most prominent truths of the Gospel ; for which reason, their opinions have not made any deep impression among thinking persons, and are obviously unworthy of much notice. Many theologians therefore have adopted the judgment of those more learned and sober reasoners who maintain, that as the life in Christ is, by the apostle, extended to all who die in Adam, it must mean only the immortality of the soul, coupled with the resurrection of the body at the last day.

This view, although not altogether unattended with difficulty, is perhaps the least objectionable that can be entertained. It allows us to extend the benefit of Christ's death to the whole human race, without doing violence either to the language of Scripture or to the doctrine of the Universal Church. Some, indeed, have attempted to modify the language of the apostle so

as to make it coincide with their own narrow views. They tell us that when St. Paul declares all men die in Adam, the word *all* must be taken in its widest signification, and thereby include the whole human race; but that, when he says all shall be made alive in Christ, the word *all* must not be understood in the same sense as comprehending all mankind. In the latter case it must be restricted so as to mean only a few, that is, a very small proportion of the children of Adam.

Such a mode of interpretation, it is clear, is not only inconsistent with the ordinary use of language, but is calculated to undermine all our confidence in the judgment and candour of the apostolical writers. Besides, if such a principle were once admitted among divines as a rule of Scriptural criticism, we should no longer find it possible to read the Bible as we read all other books, and be satisfied that the authors really meant what they have distinctly expressed.

These remarks which have, perhaps, been carried to an undue length, were suggested by some of the difficulties which impede the progress of both the authors now before us, towards the conclusion to which their arguments would otherwise lead them. In truth, without having correct notions of the fall of our first parents, and its consequences on their posterity, it is impossible that we can have correct notions on the doctrine of redemption, or indeed on any other doctrine peculiarly Christian; for the Gospel began to be revealed when the promise was made, that the "seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent."

One of the difficulties now referred to, respects the salvation of infants, or rather, perhaps, the application of the atonement to the case of those who, from extreme youth or imbecility, were not capable of sinning after the similitude of Adam's transgression.

"Of those for whom the Mediator undertakes there are," says Mr. Gilbert, "two classes. Of these classes, the one has sinned in a sense in which transgression cannot be justly charged against the other. The term sinned, as applied to one of these portions, plainly enough means violation of law—a personal failure in duty; but as referring to the other portion, it cannot be extended beyond a negative import—that of failure when compared with the standard of perfect human nature. An infant, according to this distinction, is indeed said to have sinned, but yet not after the similitude of Adam's transgression. Being incapable of the government of law, it cannot have personally broken obligation, but still it is without conformity to rule, because its powers are not prepared to operate harmoniously. It is an instrument of future moral action, but an instrument not in tune. The circumstances which shall hereafter strike the strings will at once disclose their want of proper tension, and bring out discordance. It is obvious, that the Saviour of these two classes may be so designated in diverse degrees.

The one he may save by merely bringing its powers into a just accordance. He may be their head of influence, without being a sacrifice for personal guilt. The other class, before he can consistently undertake the restoration of their powers to order, he must save by averting consequences of whatever kind, which otherwise must ensue upon a personal infringement of law."

It is not easy to understand what is meant by being a "head of influence" to babes who are taken out of this world without having known either good or evil; or in what consists their "want of conformity to a rule," which was never promulgated for their direction. The restoration to immortality, proclaimed by the apostle as the first fruits of the divine mediation, is unquestionably available to infants not less than to those who reach mature years. Mr. Gilbert makes some remarks not more severe than just on St. Augustine, who does not scruple to lay it down for Christian doctrine, "*peccatum originale pœnam non tantum damni sed et sensûs, et quidem ignis æterni, manere.*" In this fearful insanity he adds, in the words of Leibnitz, he is followed by "*Gregorius Ariminensis, Augustineanorum magister, et alii non pauci. Multi etiam in Gallia antistites et theologi, qui discessionem a Molina facere, et St. Augustino adhærescere amant, inclinare videntur in sententiam magni illius doctoris, infantes, ætate innocentiae ante susceptum baptismum mortuos, æterno rogo damnantis.*" The Jansenists are well known as abettors of the same repulsive dogma; "Nam," says Leibnitz, "*ipsi se pro patris hujus sententiâ, stare plane fortiterque profitentur.*" On this subject, which has so often proved a stumbling-block to the systematic divine, Gregory Nazianzen thought it sufficient to teach that, "*Parvuli nec cælesti gloria, nec suppliciis a justo judice adficientur, utpote qui, licet baptismo non consignati fuerint, improbitate tamen carent.*" The benign father, in short, unable in accordance with his principles, to procure for the "little ones" a place in the kingdom of heaven, mercifully consigned them to complete annihilation; he was willing that they should suffer the penalty of eternal loss, but not of eternal pains.

The learned and humane author of the Congregational Lecture on the Atonement, though all his natural feelings are in favour of the opinion that redemption is extended to children and idiots, finds himself encumbered with an hypothesis similar to that of St. Gregory, without having the advantage of being equally intelligible and so well defined. He remarks, "that infants dying before personal accountability, require the impartation of a holy principle, or what the Scriptures call regeneration, before they can be fitted for the heavenly glory, those who believe in the fact

of the lapsed condition of human nature must assume." The question then arises :—

"Are there any obstructions arising from the moral government of God, which would make it derogatory to holiness, to law, or to justice, for this to be done for them by the direct interposition of divine influence? Would any danger threaten the moral effect of the sanctions of law by a favour shown to those who had never personally disobeyed? Perhaps we may obtain some light by considering whether, were they otherwise susceptible of it, they could be supposed personally to repent or feel remorse on account of a transgression in which they had no voluntary share? And further, whether atonement could be required where repentance could not? A distinction is plainly to be taken between grounds of humility and those of repentance. We may properly be humble on account of condition without crime; but repentance seems necessarily to pre-suppose the existence of criminal choice. These are considerations which ought not to be overlooked."

The doubts involved in the several questions now put by Mr. Gilbert, indicate either a certain want of distinctness as to the great object of the Christian Atonement, or an undue deference for the principles of a system to which his professional obligations may have bound him. If by "the impartation of a holy principle, which the Scriptures call regeneration," he meant the "inward and spiritual grace" conferred in the rite of baptism duly administered, his views must be held to coincide with those of the Bishop of Nazianzen, who believed that celestial glory could not be attained except by those who had received the divine ordinance of initiation. If, on the other hand, by using the word "regeneration," he intended to express the indispensable necessity of that mysterious change, in the thoughts and feelings of a Christian, to which the inappropriate term, "new birth" is now applied, it will be sufficient to observe that such conversion in a mere child is altogether inconceivable. The reflection which he himself makes on the doctrines of Augustine and his modern followers, is but too applicable to the great host of theological writers, who, in supporting their creeds, rely more on the authority of men, than on the revelations of the sacred word. "They did not, after due consideration, believe the things they uttered: it is impossible they should; but maintained, unconsciously of the meaning, a set of phrases necessary for the defence of their system."

We have said that the natural sentiments of Mr. Gilbert are amiable and so far orthodox. He regrets that on this subject we are taught to accept statements which must damage not a little the personal piety of those who think proper to receive them.

"They implicate fearfully the character of God, and are enough to

awaken the distrust, which we see to be on the increase, respecting the decisions of theologians, as if they were an insulated class, possessing but little in common with other men of those practical principles of moral judgment, which both reason and feeling suggest. Shall we wonder that some have been tempted to think that the study of theology as a system, instead of quickening every amiable sensibility, may, through the force of a perverted theory, become the instrument of erasing from the mind even the natural notions of justice or equity, and of engaging the intellect in the defence of opinions preposterously absurd and immoral. He who can be brought to think that an infant awoke into consciousness to-day, may be justly and fittingly transmitted to the pains of eternal torment for an act done some thousands of years before it had a personal existence, merely because the perpetrator was its ancestor, must be wholly perverted in judgment, and can have no symmetrical connection of moral ideas. But we must conclude that these partizans did not really think so, did not actually contemplate the fact and cordially credit it: but rather bandied about a set of phrases, which they had supposed to be indissolubly connected with some other important points of orthodoxy. I cannot think that any man ever believed the doctrine, because the make of the human mind cannot admit of such belief; though I do not suppose these authors to have practised a designed deception."

On this subject, so much darkened by the thick clouds of Calvinism, our Church has shown her wonted gentleness and moderation. With regard to the condition of infants received within the pale of the Christian covenant, she entertains the most cheering certainty; whilst as to the future state of all others, she predicates nothing, because holy Scripture, her only sure guide, has not vouchsafed any revelation. Adopting, with a slight alteration, the words of our author, we may remark in the spirit of his mild teaching, "that should the moral government of God be represented as extending its legal threatening to those who have not, in the first sin, personally violated its demands, the expiation of sin, generally considered, including the *first sin*, meets the case, and thus the balance is restored." According to this view, the two dispensations ought always to be studied conjunctively; the law which involves the personally innocent with the designed recovery and ultimate removal of the consequence. Both the sin and the expiation, as referring to those who in this life never attain to personal agency, nor relative considerations, arising out of the complication of a system, which includes essentially the succession of generations.

Every author who writes on that great mystery by which man was reconciled unto his Maker, has the choice either of establishing the doctrine of Atonement, by a reference to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, or of illustrating the theory of redemption by an appeal to the more ordinary princi-

ples manifested in the moral government of the world. On the former head, the labour of commentators has left nothing unaccomplished. The learning of the Church, in ancient as well as in modern times, has been most successfully employed in the critical examination of particular texts; and at the present day, accordingly, nothing but misconception of the true bearing of this essential tenet, strengthened by the habit of inventing ingenious subterfuges, could resist the evidence on which it rests. It is, therefore, chiefly to the second branch of the inquiry that Mr. Gilbert directs his reasoning; endeavouring to diffuse light on it in a free and somewhat popular way, and thereby to weaken the more plausible objections which are found to disturb the uninstructed mind. It is his object, in short, to show that the calmest reason has no verdict to pronounce which would contradict the decisions of the inspired volume, as understood by the most competent divines. It is not a critical discussion, but an investigation rather of the genius of that scheme of recovery which, it is taken for granted, is clearly enough laid down in the Bible; turning on the questions, What are the principles on which it proceeds?—What are the objects it is designed to accomplish?—Whence its necessity?—And in what respects, though purely a matter of revelation, it may nevertheless be shown to be in strict accordance with the dictates of enlightened reason?

In occupying this ground, the lecturer is seen in the company of two able men, who, though very different from each other, supply to him the principal materials of his system; we mean Bishop Butler and Dr. Taylor of Norwich. The profound author of the *Analogy*, in considering the moral administration under which mankind are placed in the present world, discovered a powerful argument for the doctrine of the Atonement in those numerous cases of substitution wherein the good are seen suffering on account of the bad, and the innocent for the guilty. He shows that the visible government which God exercises over the world, is by the instrumentality and mediation of others; and hence concludes that there is no sort of objection, from the light of nature, against the general notion of a mediator between God and man, considered as a doctrine of Christianity or as an appointment in this dispensation. We find by experience that God does appoint mediators to be the instruments of good and evil to us; wherefore the objection to this theory must be urged, not only against it in that high and peculiar sense in which Christ is our mediator, but also against the notion of a mediator in general, or in other words, against what we see and feel every day. "Revelation teaches us that the unknown laws of God's more general government, no less than the particular laws by

which we experience he governs us at present, are compassionate as well as good; and that he hath mercifully provided that there should be an interposition to prevent the destruction of human kind. God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him—not, to be sure, in a speculative but in a practical sense—should not perish; gave his son in the same way of goodness to the world, as he affords particular persons the friendly assistance of their fellow creatures.” And this divine Being “interposed in such a manner as was necessary and effectual to prevent that execution of justice upon sinners, which God had appointed should otherwise be executed upon them: or in such manner as to prevent that punishment from actually following, which, according to the general laws of divine government, must have followed the sins of the world, had it not been for such interposition.”*

The point in which Mr. Gilbert comes in contact with the ingenious author of the *Scripture-Doctrine of the Atonement*, is that wherein he reasons on the distinction in the Divine Character as a parent, and as a sovereign, lawgiver, or magistrate. It had been objected that satisfaction to his justice could not be necessary, because if we repent and reform we must, independently of any mediation, be in a fit state for pardon. It was maintained that sincere repentance must, in itself, render sinners the objects of heavenly mercy; what need, then, of the atonement of Christ? In reply, Dr. Taylor admits that, without doubt, the penitent sinner is in the fittest state to receive pardon, and even allows the probability that the most benevolent of all Beings, whose tender mercy is over all his works, will be disposed to forgive those who truly repent and turn from their evil ways. “If sin,” says he, “can be considered as injurious to him only in a *private, personal* capacity, we may well suppose it would, so considered, immediately be pardoned by the same rule of goodness which he has prescribed to us in the Gospel (Matthew, v. 44—48; Luke, vi. 27, 28, 36). In *private* cases where only the offended and offender are concerned, offences may be well forgiven simply, immediately, and unconditionally.” But God, he proceeds to remark, must here be considered in a *public* capacity, as a *magistrate*, as the *governor* of the universe; and sin as the only disorder, mischief, and misery among his subjects, and which therefore above all things he must be concerned to prevent and reform.

“Now in this view,” he concludes by asking, “are we sure that a simple absolute pardon even of the penitent, is agreeable to rectoral

* Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed, chapter v. The Appointment of a Mediator and Redeemer.

goodness and the ends of government, which are the good order and happiness of the rational creation? The punishing and pardoning of crimes are very important concerns to *every* government; and as the one ought not to exceed the bounds of justice and equity, so the other ought to be granted with caution and prudence. Easy, indiscreet pardons may give encouragement to transgression; and forgiveness lightly attained may give a light opinion of wickedness, not only to the offender himself but to all his fellow subjects. It is therefore evident that the governor who consults the *public* good, ought to guard and qualify his pardons in such manner as not to propagate, but if possible to extirpate, a spirit of disorder and rebellion, and to spread a loyal, well-affected temper throughout the whole community."

On the principles stated or implied in these extracts, the author of the Lectures founds his theory of the Atonement. The efficacy of our Saviour's death appears in satisfying the *wisdom* of God, who, as the administrator of his own laws, could not allow the violation of them to pass without an expression of his *regal* displeasure. Admitting the fact of atonement, says he, the only inference is that, as a fact, it must stand connected with official character,—“with that of conservator of law administered for the public good.” He further assures us, it is only in the relation which the Almighty bears to the intelligent creation, as the supreme moral governor, or presiding over general law, that he either requires or can accept substituted suffering. Independently of such relation as their Lord and Lawgiver, there had, says he, been no place for vicarious expiation. A profound respect for the regal authority of God must lie at the foundation of a right regard for the Christian religion.

It follows, therefore, that the object contemplated in the sufferings and death sustained by our blessed Lord, was not only to magnify the law and make it honourable, but also, by a great example, to effect the prevention of crime. Wherever deliverance from the effects of disobedience, even upon repentance, is deemed expedient, some provision must be made to supply the place of punishment: and from this it becomes manifest that justice, in the sense of a benevolent regard for the public good, must necessarily demand, before forgiveness is proclaimed, a due respect for law—respect for it not only in the pardoned but in the general mind. It is acknowledged by the author that in this argument he assumes the analogy between the divine law and human, though the circumstances in which each is exercised are extremely different. Human legislation, it is admitted, is not pointed against a whole nation of transgressors, but only against occasional delinquents; and therefore its main office is to protect the majority who have not violated its enactments, from the violence

of the few who are unmindful of the rights of others. But in reference to the law of God, on the other hand, we are all involved in one common condemnation; and since all have sinned, there are none entitled to special protection; the preventive object of legislation is superseded; and the only question now remaining is between universal ruin and the total abrogation of the violated statutes. In this case the benevolence of the ruler would have to consider, not the safety of any who have not failed, but simply the moral improvement of those whom he might think proper to save.

In reply to this objection, urged against the analogy between divine and human law, Mr. Gilbert justly remarks there would only be some force in it, upon the supposition that the world of human beings were absolutely insulated from other parts of the intellectual creation; that it existed alone, and were for ever to remain separated from every other department of God's government. "But, by the same authority which announces to us the government of God, we are assured of a subsisting connexion between the different provinces over which he rules. Creatures there are who have never sinned, and who, though holding a different rank in the scale of being, are yet spectators intensely interested in what is transpiring here, where revolt has broken out against their glorious King. But, independently of our present intercourse, we, if recovered, are hereafter to make our appearance among those other orders of beings; and the final judgment which shall direct that issue, is to be conducted before the assembled powers and principalities of other regions. Must it not be known, then, upon what terms transgressors come to share in immortality and blessedness with those who have kept their first estate? Must not also the grounds of that distinction which the Judge shall openly establish even among those who, as alike guilty, had been included in one common indictment, be publicly revealed? By such as believe the Scriptures to come from God, it might be imagined that these questions could only receive an affirmative reply. Those terms and grounds will certainly be known to other intelligences who themselves are under the same general obligations which we have violated.—Other beings there are alike with us under the laws of God. Shall they then be taught that those laws are but of trifling moment? Shall their blessedness be put to hazard by a public lesson which shall only teach them how far from hopeless may be the state of rebels—how easy of access the abode of happiness even to the guilty; and that after having drunk of every inviting cup presented to them by temptation, they will only, when the pain shall have overbalanced the pleasure, have to change their minds and to

return again to honour and to joy? This were certainly not to sustain the power of protective law, but to betray the safety of those who should repose a mistaken confidence in its authority."

In justice to Mr. Gilbert, it ought to be mentioned that his scheme comprehends an inquiry into the following particulars, namely, the relation between God and man, regarded not simply as the *paternal* and *filial*, nor of *proprietor* and *property*, but rather of *governor* and *governed*; the nature and ground of moral administration *in general*: some *special* principles involved in that administration; the functions and bearings of substitution; the *qualities* essential to constitute a valid substitution: the argument in general as applied in a summary of objections and answers; and finally the practical application to which the doctrine must naturally lead.

We have already remarked that the basis of his argument is placed on the distinction between the divine attributes considered as simply paternal, and as characterizing the functions of a governor or judge. It is, in short, as the administrator of his own laws that he demands satisfaction for their infringement. As to the precise nature of that satisfaction, indeed, the human eye is not permitted to extend its vision, nor the most vigorous mind to draw any conclusion. But in the pages of the New Testament it is rendered perfectly manifest, that mankind are not only defective when compared with a rule, and therefore under a kind of fatherly disapprobation: they are, moreover, under an authority, which being offended and despised, will, if they are rescued not by a powerful interposition, subject them to a fearful penalty. It is clear that this representation can never comport with the mere relation of parent and children. Some analogy there doubtless is between parental authority, and that by which laws are enacted and executed; but to realize the ideas suggested by the scriptural account of the divine government, the authority exercised in it must be strictly one with the legislative and judicial. Were we indeed, it is said, so to speculate upon the duties of the paternal relation, as to insist that a father, if perfectly wise, will guard himself from the interference of private feeling so completely, as to be a stranger to indulgence or relenting tenderness; that, in fact, he will exercise the precise functions of a legislator and judge; the debate were wholly superfluous whether the divine government be no other than paternal rule, or that of public law and justice. "No sooner, however, is the substitution of the word father for that of governor assumed as granted, than all the infirmities, if such they be, which are included in our common notions of paternal forbearance towards a disobedient son, are employed to give weight or plausibility to the argument. Every

imaginable appeal to human sympathy, to the sensibility of a parent's heart, is incessantly urged to weaken the force of inferences deduced from law, from justice, and from considerations of public safety. Immediately the sophistical device involved in substituting the one term for the other, becomes so obvious as to strike even the least discerning mind. In truth it admits not of any doubt that the Scriptures, when they refer to Divine claims, speak the language not of fatherly admonition merely, but of positive law.

The author is very successful in exposing the absurd unscriptural reasoning of those—"philosophical opponents" he is pleased to call them—who reject this capital article of the common faith of the Christian world. Though not remarkable for their zeal in promoting Christianity itself, they cannot certainly be accused of tardiness in furthering the advancement of their own opinions. In subverting the established judgments of mankind, on questions the most deeply interesting, or rather in denuding divine revelation of any important meaning, their progress, he observes, has been rapid beyond example. "Could we conceive of a person, totally ignorant of the mysteries of their art, and of the successive steps of demolition taken by it, but yet well acquainted with the Scriptures, to have placed before him the whole result at once; how must he, as he surveyed the lonely fragment left unimpaired, stand amazed at the miracle, incapable of at all conjecturing by what desolating power, the sacred structure of his faith and hope could have been laid in ruins." Dr. Smith, for example, one of the philosophers to whom Mr. Gilbert seems to refer, says, "Why do we, Unitarians, not believing in the common notion concerning it, call Jesus Christ our Saviour? Our teacher, divinely inspired he certainly was; but does not *Saviour* imply something *more*? And is not our using the term as we do, implying an acquiescence in the abominable doctrine of a sacrifice for our sins—a doctrine the source of so much impiety in the world."

Agreeably to the Unitarian hypothesis, indeed, instruction and salvation are synonymous expressions; and the Lord Jesus is said to have saved us, merely because he supplied the knowledge of God's will, accompanied with certain inducements to prevail upon us to obey it. But it is justly stated, in reply to this extremely narrow view of the Christian religion, that where a real law is supposed, punishments actually denounced and suspended over us, our Deliverer, whatever he may do besides, must not omit to rescue us from the legal sentence. To be really our Saviour, he must save us from the evils threatened by the law-giver at whose tribunal we must all appear. The main objection

urged by the Anti-satisfactionists against the doctrine of the Atonement, as commonly received, respects the fact necessarily implied in it, of the innocent suffering for the guilty. But this objection, it is manifest, cannot be altogether removed even by the most liberal assumptions of the Socinian school. They readily acknowledge that Jesus Christ, who was holy, harmless, separate from sinners, who did no sin, in whose lips was no guile, in whom the Great Father of the universe was well pleased, had administered to him a *cup of suffering*; that he laid down his life as a good shepherd for the sheep, and that because he had received this commandment from the Father; and that it was in order to give his life a ransom for many that he came into this world. Here then we have an innocent being, the only one that the history of the world presents to us, subjected to severe suffering; and who, says Dr. Priestley, “exhibited an example of entire submission in a scene of the greatest distress to which, it is probable, human nature was ever subjected—I mean in his agony in the garden, when his soul was exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death.” By all, therefore, who receive the Scriptures as substantially authoritative, it is granted that in some way it was for the “benefit of others,” not for his personal advantage, that sorrow, distress, anguish, and even death, were laid upon him. In the moral administration of this world, under the eye of infinite wisdom and benevolence, we have an instance, account for it as we may, of the innocent suffering that others, who are not innocent, may be saved from perishing.

On this great fact two very different hypotheses have been raised; the one of which restricts the operation of the Saviour’s sufferings to a kind of persuasive effect, to be wrought on the minds of his followers, by confirming to them his testimony in support of truth, and by presenting to them a very striking example of submission. The other theory, besides the objects now stated, assigns to the sufferings of the adorable victim another and a much more momentous one—that, namely, of distinctly recognising the guilt of those for whom he endured such pains; of displaying the divine displeasure at sin while the sinners are pardoned; and of thereby magnifying the justice of God even while he justifies the ungodly. The author is therefore perfectly entitled to maintain “that the ideas of moral substitution, or of vicarious suffering, notwithstanding the dislike of these expressions entertained by some persons, are as truly included in the circumstances, mutually admitted, on the one hypothesis as on the other. As truly we say, not as extensively; but in considering the justice of such substitution, the extent is of no moment. If to introduce the principle of exchange in moral administration

be in itself not at all unjust, the extension of that principle is as little unjust. In both the supposed cases we have alike real substitution—indisputable vicariousness in sustaining evil. For what can substitution be conceived to import, if the undeserved suffering of one, enjoined and endured to prevent the sufferings of others, be not rightly designated by it? What else can be meant by vicariousness? Let the effect be produced in what way soever, we cannot imagine on what principle those sufferings will really operate to cut off suffering, and that exclusively of personal benefit to the sufferer, should not be regarded as in so far truly vicarious."

In this manner Mr. Gilbert shows satisfactorily that the doctrine, in whatever other respects it may seem liable to objection, is not chargeable with any specific difficulty on the ground of vicarious interposition. In vain, as he asserts, have its opponents had recourse to ingenuity; they cannot clear their own hypothesis from the very consequences which they wish to fasten on the one they labour to impugn. No generalizing of expression, no vague abstractions, no loose and ambiguous forms of speech can prevent the discerning mind from having a palpable perception of the truth, however mysterious, that substitution is part of the scheme of that moral government under which we live; a scheme which, without question, includes essentially the sufferings of one who was innocent for the relief and benefit of others who are guilty.

It is admitted by all men that, in a certain modified sense, the principle of substituted suffering pervades the whole of the divine administration in this world. As an example of this, are mentioned the self-denial, the opposition, the calumnies, and persecution to which the good in all ages have exposed themselves, in order to reclaim the vicious, to relieve the miserable or to rescue the oppressed. Why has it been required of the disciples of Christ that, at the cost of labour, danger in a thousand forms, and even at the expense of life itself, they should attempt the spiritual improvement of mankind? Was it not in this sense expected from them that they should fill up the remainder of the sufferings, appointed by their Master, for his body's sake, even for his church? "Now," observes Mr. Gilbert, "it is by availing themselves of this very fact, so commonly recognised in human life, that our opponents have partially succeeded in inducing, if not a persuasion, yet a sort of feeling, that their own views of the suffering and death of Christ involve much less than ours an apparent imputation on the justice of God. By loosely characterizing them as sufferings for the benefit of others, they merge the fact amongst the common associations of mankind. We are familiar with instances of

benevolent self-sacrifice to procure for others some great good, as well as with duties having been prescribed, which must include renunciation of ease and personal comfort solely for other people's advantage. Familiarity prevents the ordinary class of thinkers from looking into the principle upon which such acts proceed. They do not see that the usual notions of justice, the very notions appealed to in the question of atonement, are implicated here."

Connected with the history and study of theological tenet, it is very instructive to observe how far and how rapidly the modern Unitarians have deviated from the doctrines of those whom they are willing to acknowledge as the patriarchs of their sect. Dr. Taylor, for example, when considering the important question "wherein the virtue of Christ's death consists," admits that the granting remission of sin and the other blessings of the Gospel, through the blood of Christ, has a strong and direct tendency to our sanctification, and to render us penitent and obedient. Associated with this effect he acknowledges that it is in itself highly pleasing to God to whom it was offered; that in the nature of things, it is the properest ground of the remission of sin and of eternal redemption, because it is the properest method to discountenance sin, to lead men to repentance, and to engage them to duty and obedience; and thus, he adds, the "*mean* will in itself be just and fit, and every way suitable to the end—our redemption from sin to God, and so perfectly worthy of his goodness and wisdom." "Then I shall see a magnificent reason why the redemption by Christ is so much extolled, and his blood and cross are so much celebrated in the Apostolic writings; and must be constrained to acknowledge that it is highly expedient that our faith, or the attention of our minds, should be directed to the *blood of Christ* in all our approaches to God, as the most acceptable way to him, because the most effectual to purify and ennoble our spirits. Lastly, I shall then rest fully convinced, that though the penitent are in the fittest state to receive pardon, and though God, of his own goodness, is readily disposed to grant it, yet it is very proper that it should be consigned to them in this way; because this is the properest way to affect the mind with the malignity of sin, and the excellence and necessity of true holiness; to show wherein it consists and to excite to the practice of it, which is the only way to qualify us for eternal life."—"And, whoever attentively fixes his thoughts upon the death of Christ must there see in the strongest light how odious and detestable all sin is to God; how absolutely inconsistent with our own excellence and happiness; how dreadfully pernicious in its consequences, when the infinite wisdom of God judged nothing less

than the sacrifice of his well-beloved and only begotten Son, that great, that glorious and most excellent personage, a proper mean to deliver us both from the guilt and from the power of it."—"The sufferings and death of Christ very wonderfully declare the love of God and the Redeemer to mankind. What a prodigious value hath the Father and Lord of the universe set upon the human nature! How dear to him is our life and welfare when he spared not his only-begotten Son, but delivered him up for us all, to redeem us from iniquity, and to refine our minds into heavenly worth and purity; and hath now invested him with wonderful dominion, on purpose that he may overrule all things for our good, may raise us from the dead, and put us in possession of glory, honour, and immortality."*

We have given this extract from an author, whose opinions, though always ingenious, are frequently far from orthodox, not with the view of strengthening any position for the defence of the Atonement, but solely with the intention of showing to what extent many of those who symbolize with him in his general doctrines, have departed from the solemn reverential tone in which he treated the essential article of redemption by the blood of Christ.

The feelings of mankind have been unfortunately enlisted against this important section of the Christian creed, by eloquent declamations on the benevolence of Deity as contrasted with the more popular notions on the Atonement, which have on some occasions been so explained as to exhibit the divine Father burning with personal wrath, as receiving appeasement, and as becoming placable only by the sufferings of his Son in our behalf. It cannot be necessary to state that the wrath, the vengeance, and even the fury attributed in Scripture to the great God are nothing more than impressive figures, which denote, not the feelings of a person, but the attributes of offended law. So, it is remarked, may an earthly prince, even when his bosom is heaving with the emotions of pity, be yet the minister of God to execute wrath, the stern awards of public justice.

It is well observed, that as vicarious suffering can have no relation to personal revenge, so neither can it possibly be regarded as an exchange addressed to personal gratification. Figuratively, indeed, and with much force in one view of its operation, it is described as a price—a price of inestimable value—for we were redeemed by *the precious blood of Christ*. But, it is added, we must entirely divest our minds of every idea of its having the

* The Scripture-Doctrine of Atonement examined; first, in relation to Jewish sacrifices; and then to the sacrifice of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, p. 108—113.

formal character of an equivalent presented to an individual as a reparation for personal loss, or to buy the exercise of his clemency. This were to suppose a simple delight in the suffering of another, the most malignant of dispositions that can be imagined. Horrible, indeed, were it for a being to be capable of receiving compensation for an injury, in the mere delight arising either from inflicting or from witnessing undeserved agony. "To be vindictive," says Mr. Gilbert, "is sufficiently unamiable; most detestable to be by nature cruel. Far be this from Him whose name is Love, and whose tender mercies are over all his works; and as far be it from us to impute to the Father a personal pleasure in putting his Son to grief;—pleasure, for the sake of which, as the price of our deliverance, he sells his pardons. In this sense, to describe Atonement as a ransom, were to represent it as an offering to malignity—a sacrifice to Moloch. It were to associate the Christian Divinity with the dreadful gods of Paganism, and a Christian worshipper with those who, by deifying malignity, have introduced the worst abominations of the Heathen. Incautious as is the language, we grieve to say, not unfrequently employed, yet to impute this notion to any advocate of Christian truth, cannot but be atrocious."

The incautious language condemned by this author is not confined to one class of writers, and may be found in works emanating from the school of Crellius, as well as from that of Calvin. The latter divine, in expounding the "descent into hell," represents our Saviour as suffering on the cross all the pains of the damned; on which account alone he is said to have gone down to the place of torment. He maintained, says Bishop Pearson, that the soul of Christ did really and truly suffer all those pains which are due unto the damned; that whatsoever is threatened by the law unto them which depart this life in their sins and under the wrath of God, was fully undertaken and borne by Christ; that he died a true and natural death—the death of Gehenna, and that this dying the death of Gehenna was the *descending into hell*; that those who are now saved by virtue of his death should otherwise have endured the same torments in hell which now the damned do and shall endure; but that he being their surety, did himself suffer the same for them, even all the torments which we should have felt, and the damned shall. "Si Christus ad inferos descendisse dicitur, nihil mirum est cum eam mortem pertulerit quæ ab irato Deo infligitur—cum diros in animâ cruciatus damnati et perditî hominîs pertulerit."*

Viewing the Atonement in this light, Stockell reasoned not

* Institut. lib. 11, c. 16.

illogically when he arrived at the horrible conclusion, that “in a strict and proper sense the infinite God *doth not* forgive sin; for it is readily granted by all who are sound in the faith that Jesus Christ hath paid full satisfaction to Divine justice for all sin, and hath fully paid the debts of his Church. And if Christ hath satisfied the justice of God for all the sins of his people, how then can it justly, or with propriety of speech, be said that God *pardoneth our sins and transgressions*? Sure am I that debt can never be forgiven which is paid.” In the volumes of Flavel, Watts, and even Beveridge, many expressions may be detected, not only extremely offensive to good taste, but also glaringly inconsistent with the attributes of the Almighty, and, of course, with sound theological principle. The late Mr. Scott, too, in his *Essay on the Merits and Atonement of Christ*, will be found to have indulged in the use of language which is not altogether free from the objections just mentioned. For instance, when describing the typical sacrifices of the ancient law, he remarks that certain parts of the animal were burned on the altar with the fire which came immediately from heaven, both at the opening of the tabernacle worship, and afterwards at the consecration of Solomon’s temple. “Now,” says he, “who can help perceiving that this fire represented the avenging justice of God (who is a consuming fire) and that when it consumed the harmless, unblemished, victim, whilst the guilty offerer escaped, it aptly prefigured the way of a sinner’s salvation.”

Dr. Whitley, to whose volume we rather tardily refer, quotes from Professor Lee’s “*Persian Controversies*,” the answer of a Mahometan doctor to the arguments of the Rev. H. Martin in defence of the Atonement. “Allowing,” says Mirza Mohammed Ruza, “that God is a just judge, and supposing that some crime has been committed against Him, what difficulty can there be in supposing Him to forego his right of inflicting punishment, especially when reparation and repentance have been offered? The divine justice and government by no means make it necessary that every sin or improper action should receive due punishment. It is unreasonable and unjust to suppose that the sufferings of one person can be accepted for the sins of another; and it is inconsistent with the character of the Deity to inflict the punishment due to the crimes of men on the righteous person of Christ.”

Every reader will perceive that the difficulties which impeded the path of this Mussulman to the belief and reception of the Gospel, were occasioned in a great measure by the infelicitous style used by too many writers, in their attempts to explain the mystery of redemption. Their views and statements of the Doctrine of Atonement having been derived from the Old rather than

from the New Testament; more from the forms and observances of the Law than from the ordinances and declarations of the Gospel; can we wonder, says Dr. Whitley, if they partake of the peculiar spirit of that law of elements and bondage from which they are taken, and, if like it, they are sometimes confined, superficial, and defective? The sentiment of Richard Baxter illumines the subject with a more genial light. Christ, says he, made no real change in God by his reconciliation; but by his sacrifice and merits and intercession he made it a thing just and meet for God to forgive and save us, notwithstanding all our guilt, all his holiness, justice and truth: and this, without any change in God—God's love of benevolence goeth before his love of complacency, though the change be in the object only. Whatever, therefore, is agreeable unto the law of love is good and right; and whatever is opposed to it is evil or wrong. Of this omnipotent and eternal law, as Hooker remarks, no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God; her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempt from her power. Both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.

We have said that the leading principles of Mr. Gilbert's hypothesis on the redemption of the world, may be found in Butler and Taylor; and we make this assertion without any invidious intention, or the slightest desire to lessen the merit of his ingenious reasoning and eloquent declamation. He endeavours, in short, to prove that vicarious suffering enters deeply into the present system of the moral administration under which human beings are placed, and, more especially, that this suffering is entirely free from vindictive feeling on the part of the Great Governor of the world. Mercy is everywhere combined with justice; and no pain is inflicted but with the view of producing reconciliation to the offended law, peace of conscience to the penitent, and eternal happiness to all who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for the reward of their Christian profession. Viewed in this light, we highly approve the conclusions to which in these lectures the mind of their accomplished author has been conducted. Were his language a little more simple, we should be inclined to place him in an elevated niche of that temple, if any such there be, which poets have consecrated to theological fame, and to expect from him, at a future period, something more lasting than the fruits of this prescribed task.

Dr. Whitley's object is different, and perhaps more ambitious.

He aspires not so much to teach the ignorant as to reprove the learned; not so much to arrange and digest what others have done, as to show what they have left undone. Despising the paltry crops which have been produced by all former methods of cultivation, he proposes to break up new ground and to adopt an improved method of husbandry. The light in which men have hitherto walked, is denounced by him as the most deceitful, if not the most palpable darkness; and he accordingly raises his eyes to the day-star on high, whose beams have till now descended in vain, and of which the invigorating warmth has been rather repelled than invited to the hearts of men. Referring to the learned and elaborate treatises of Grotius *de Satisfactione*, of Stillingfleet on the same subject, of Balguy on *Redemption*, Outram and many others, he acknowledges that they are justly entitled to our thanks and respect, but adds, they must be deemed greatly defective, if not regretted as failures. "Archbishop Magee, having adopted the general views and system of the writers who preceded him, has followed the usual track and train of exposition and of reasoning with those learned advocates and assertors of the doctrine already mentioned, so as to form little, if any, exception to the general scope and import of these remarks. His volumes on the Atonement seem to have been designed and composed to answer opponents rather than teach the doctrine itself; to baffle and to silence theists and infidels, rather than to develope and manifest the truth. The cardinal and the capital error and defect is in all, almost invariably and universally the same: they *fail* for the most part in appreciating the greatness and profoundness of the Atonement itself—the true nature of sin and of its remedy—the excess of man's depravity and of God's mercy—of our ruin and our recovery through Christ; in evincing the moral reasons and necessity, the spiritual benefits and efficacy, of the death and sacrifice of the God-man; in which respects the light and guidance of the New Testament have not in general been carefully followed; its truths justly weighed; its forms and institutions carefully examined and applied."

Dr. Whitley is unquestionably entitled to the "thanks and respect" which he is willing to bestow upon his predecessors, but we should deceive those who rely upon his zeal, did we represent his work as a faultless production, or praise it either for good taste or cogent reasoning. His heart is devoted to the cause he pleads, but his head is rather a treacherous ally to the warmth of his feelings; and hence, while he passes severe strictures on the opinions of nearly all who have trodden the same path before him, he fails not to expose his own conclusions to animadversions not less sharp, and perhaps more justly merited.

ART. X.—*Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*, By John Henry Newman, B.D. Fellow of Oriel College, and Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. Parker, Oxford. 1833.

WITH regard to this work we have committed a misdemeanor of which reviewers, perhaps, are not often guilty. It has appeared late in the quarter; and we have been so engaged in reading it, that we have left ourselves very little time for elaborate criticism before our remarks must go to the press. We feel indeed that it is not a volume of which it is right to dispose by a cursory and perfunctory discharge of our office; but we feel also, that our readers will thank us for a rapid and inadequate sketch, if it shall only lead them, as we hope it will, to a regular and attentive perusal of the publication for themselves.

It consists of fourteen "Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism." Mr. Newman says in an "Advertisement,"

"The following volume has grown out of parochial lectures delivered on week-days, and, had its limits admitted, would have embraced the sacerdotal as well as the prophetical office of the Church. Great portions of a correspondence which the writer commenced with a learned and zealous member of the Gallican Church are also incorporated in it.

"To prevent misconception as to the meaning of the title-page, he would observe, that by Popular Protestantism he only wishes to designate that generalized idea of religion, now in repute, which merges all differences of faith and principle between Protestants as minor matters, as if the larger denominations among us agreed with us in essentials, and differed only in the accidents of form, ritual, government, or usage. Viewed politically, Protestantism is at this day the rallying point of all that is loyal and high-minded in the nation; but political considerations do not enter into the scope of his work."—pp. v. vi.

He adds in the "Introduction,"

"The following lectures, as far as in their very form goes, are chiefly written against Romanism, though their main object is not controversy but edification.

"Their main object is to furnish an approximation in one or two points towards a correct theory of the duties and office of the Church Catholic. Popular Protestantism does not attempt it at all, it abandons the subject altogether: Romanism supplies a doctrine, but, as we conceive, an untrue one. The question is, what is that sound and just exposition of this article of faith which holds together, or is consistent in theory, and is justified by the history of the dispensation which is neither Protestant nor Roman, but proceeds according to that *Via*

Media, which, as in other things, so here is the appropriate path for sons of the English Church to walk in? What is the nearest approximation to that primitive truth which Ignatius and Polycarp enjoyed, and which the nineteenth century has lost?

"This is the problem which demands serious consideration at this day, and some detached portions of which will be considered in the following lectures."—pp. 8, 9.

Such is, in brief, the *design* of the production—a production of a nature which was urgently required in the existing state of our ecclesiastical establishment. Of the *execution* it is impossible not to speak in terms of the highest panegyric. Replete with thought, replete with erudition, replete with devout and solemn feeling, it is destined, we believe, to exercise a permanent influence upon the tone of English divinity. On the argumentative and speculative parts, there will, of course, be differences of opinion; but all competent judges will agree, that, as a specimen of historical theology, our generation has seen but few things equal to it. These lectures, in fact, are the most complete and matured development, the most elaborate and harmonized exposition, as far as their subject-matter extends, of the principles advocated by Mr. Newman and his friends, which has been hitherto put forth. The system may be here viewed connectedly, with more unity as a whole, more consistency and cohesion of the several portions. And while the work, in comparison, even with Mr. Newman's former publications, displays more depth and breadth of knowledge, more richness and fulness of reflection, it has also, we think, the advantage of more precaution and wariness of expression. At the same time we never met with any writer so little of the mere dialectician, the mere sophist. We see in every page the earnest and single-eyed desire not to catch favour, but to attain truth. Hence, unless a man endeavours to enter into the general spirit of Mr. Newman's doctrines, he may still sometimes stumble and take fright at particular sentences and phrases; but, if he does honestly consult the entire tenor of the volume, he will find its author quite justified in alleging "that he has endeavoured in all important points of doctrine to guide himself by our standard divines, and, had space admitted, would have selected passages from their writings in evidence of it. This is almost a duty on the part of every author who professes not to strike out new theories, but to build up and fortify what has been committed to us."

Among the topics which are here treated in a manner worthy of their importance—and we can hardly say more—are *the nature and ground of Roman and Protestant errors—the indefectibility of the Church Catholic—the essentials of the Gospel—*

Scripture as the record of faith, as the record of our Lord's teaching, and as the document of proof in the early Church—the Fortunes of the Church past and present. The bare enumeration is sufficient to awaken a lively interest in the mind of every Churchman, who is alive to the value of sound religion, and at all aware of the various dangers which beset it. Leaving, however, these weighty matters for the present—since we know that the condition of the Church and the opposite influences which are actively at work within it and around it, must very soon bring us back to their consideration, and to Mr. Newman's labours in connexion with them—we shall now chiefly confine ourselves to the three lectures, towards the middle of the volume, on the "*Use and Abuse of Private Judgment.*"

Our reason is, partly that this is the point on which the most formidable exceptions may be taken to Mr. Newman's statements, and partly that it seems to us the key to his whole position.

The difficulty by which we are met on the very threshold of such a subject is the deficiency of language; and the misfortune is, that this deficiency is greatest and most conspicuous just in proportion as we venture upon the niceties of metaphysical disquisition, or attempt an analysis of the faculties and operations of the human mind. Here *philosophical* language can hardly attain precision; while the use of *popular* language—for looseness appears to be one element of popularity—throws new impediments in the way, and prevents us more and more from being exact. Hence arises a labyrinthine and almost inextricable uncertainty and confusion. The candid and dispassionate inquirer feels the extreme inconvenience at every step which he takes; the disingenuous logomachist takes advantage of the ambiguity, and finds his interest in increasing it. The one regrets, the other rejoices, that the signs by which his ideas are to be represented are so often arbitrary and capricious. Terms remain unsettled; men use the same word in three or four senses; virtually, therefore, they use three or four words, and, in fact, speak of three or four things;—the mischief, of course, being, that they perpetually interchange the several meanings, and speak of the different things as one and the same. The consequence is, that since controversy turns in most cases upon some general and leading term, it may be carried on *ad infinitum*, as if in two parallel lines; and men may wrangle for ever without ever approaching by a hair's breadth the termination of their dispute; because both are right according to their own signification of the terms, and both wrong according to their opponent's.

Now, few terms, we believe, in the whole compass of the English tongue have been more equivocally employed than *judg-*

ment—private judgment—the *right* of private judgment; and Mr. Newman, perhaps, has not altogether escaped from the entanglement so produced. Judgment is made to mean sometimes the *faculty*, sometimes the *act*, sometimes the *result*. It is made to mean sometimes the *immediate* opinion which a man takes up, rashly perhaps and precipitately, and in opposition to external evidence or authority; at other times, the *final* conclusion to which a man comes, when he has weighed and compared his original opinion with that external evidence or authority. *Private* judgment is made to mean sometimes the process through which the individual mind works, or the decision at which it arrives by virtue of the exercise of its proper functions; at other times, it is made to mean the perhaps obstinate and presumptuous determination of a single person as opposed to the almost universal consent of mankind at large. The *right* of private judgment is made to mean sometimes the general and abstract right; at other times a particular right as asserted under some particular circumstances, and on some particular occasion. But it is obvious that distinct things are implied under these several meanings; it is obvious that the same affirmations cannot be predicated of them all; that private judgment, for instance, may be in one sense quite legitimate and quite indispensable—in the other sense, most arrogant and most mischievous; that the *right* of private judgment in one sense cannot be denied—in the other, even if vindicated, cannot wisely or fitly be exerted.

Hence, however, as we have already observed, there are taken two separate lines of argument which hardly touch each other in any one point. Two parties contend fiercely for their respective dogmas; while we, for our part, might agree with both; and only desire to blend their sentiments together, and melt them into an amicable fusion.

Thus one party goes more upon abstract considerations, and may be said to regard only the correct use of private judgment. This party insists therefore upon it as the noblest and most august portion of our mental inheritance; it declares broadly and openly the indefeasible and inalienable *right* of private judgment. Nay, it does more; it insists that private judgment is not a matter of choice, or merely a matter even of right, but that it is an inherent and *necessary* condition of our intellectual and moral being; that a man *must* exercise his private judgment, unless he chooses to reduce himself to the level of a brute, unless he consents to the complete prostration and inanition of his mental powers, to the utter abandonment of reason, and oftentimes of conscience; that others may guide his judgment, or *alter* his judgment, but that he must *judge*; that, whatever he may say, or whatever he may

pretend, he must judge for *himself*; for that in judging, as in every other intellectual operation, he must employ his own faculties, and cannot employ the faculties of other men; moreover, that he may maintain, practically as well as theoretically, the general right of private judgment, without choosing or wishing to exercise it in any particular case and on every minute detail; but that, nevertheless, the particular relinquishment of private judgment is the result of its *general* and *antecedent* exercise; as, for example, he may take for granted many among the doctrinal verities of Scripture, because he has previously assured himself on his own judgment of its inspiration and infallibility; and, again, that he may sometimes concede his individual predilections, but that, nevertheless, even where he submits, he judges, for he decides on his own judgment that submission is due; and therefore he is still to himself the sovereign and ultimate arbiter, holding that judicial control, without which he could not be a responsible agent in the sight of God or man.

We do not see, when they are thus stated, what can be well urged against this set of propositions.

The other party looks to the *particular exercise* of private judgment on every occasion, whether proper or improper; and intends by the thing itself mere personal taste, it may be a vague presumption, or a crooked bias, the mere fancy or opinion of the individual, engrossed perhaps in his own speculations, and regardless of authority however sacred and testimony however accumulated. But this private judgment, it is argued, is not to be allowed. It rebels against Scripture; for the doctrines of inspired Scripture are not to be tried at the tribunal of man's erring judgment. It rebels against God's designs and man's welfare. It betokens an understanding at once narrow and proud; it bespeaks a disloyal and suspicious temper, incapable of faith, incapable of generous reliance, incapable of giving that confidence which it feels itself unworthy to inspire. A man is not authorized, in a blind and headlong self-conceit, to set his individual imaginations against the concurrent evidence of antiquity, and the consentaneous belief of the wise and good in all ages.

Our suffrage must be given as before. We do not see, when they are thus stated, what can be well urged against this set of propositions.

In fact, both arguments are tenable, both, too, are reconcilable; but it is vain to hope that any agreement can take place, so long as men will set out from different starting-places, and reason on different grounds, and regard a subject from different and exclusive points of view.

These preliminary remarks may help, we trust, to clear up

some perplexities, and afford a clue through the mazes of some vexatious disputations. Let us now proceed with Mr. Newman, who, be it remembered, uses the term private judgment more frequently in the bad than in the good sense; and, for the most part, considers it in the light of individual fancy and self-relying speculation. He opens his fifth lecture with a definition, which refers of course, merely to private judgment in matters of evangelical theology; for, otherwise, the words which we have marked in italics would vitiate by confining it.

“By the right of private judgment in matters of religious belief and practice, is meant the prerogative, considered to belong to each individual *Christian*, of ascertaining and deciding for himself *from Scripture what is Gospel truth, and what is not*. This is the principle maintained in theory, as a sort of sacred possession or palladium, by the Protestantism of this day. Romanism, as is equally clear, takes the opposite extreme, and maintains that nothing is left to individual judgment; that is, that there is no subject in religious faith and conduct on which the Church may not pronounce a decision, such as to supersede the private judgment, and compel the assent, of every one of her members. The English Church takes a middle course between these two. It considers that on certain definite subjects private judgment upon the text of Scripture has been superseded, but not by the mere authoritative sentence of the Church, but by its historical testimony delivered down from the Apostles' time. To these subjects nothing more can be added, unless, indeed, new records of primitive Christianity, or new uninterrupted traditions of its teaching were discoverable.”—pp. 152, 153.

Again, he says—

“I must not quit the subject of private judgment, without some remarks on the popular view of it, which is as follows,—that every Christian has *the right* of making up his mind for himself what he is to believe, from *personal and private study of the Scriptures*. This, I suppose, is the fairest account to give of it; though sometimes private judgment is considered rather as the necessary duty than the privilege of the Christian, and a slur is cast upon hereditary religion, as worthless or absurd; and much is said in praise of independence of mind, free inquiry, the resolution to judge for ourselves, and the enlightened and spiritual temper which these things are supposed to produce. But this notion is so very preposterous, there is something so very strange and wild in maintaining that every individual Christian, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, young and old, in order to have an intelligent faith, must have formally examined, deliberated, and passed sentence upon the meaning of Scripture for himself, and that in the highest and most delicate and mysterious matters of faith, that I am unable either to discuss or even to impute such an opinion to another, in spite of the large and startling declarations which men make on the subject. Rather let us consider what is called the *right* of private judgment; by which is meant, not that all *must*, but that all *may* search Scripture, and determine or prove their

creed from it: that is, provided they are duly qualified, for I suppose this is always implied, though persons may differ what the qualifications are. And with this limitation, I should be as willing as the most zealous Protestant to allow the principle of private judgment in the abstract; and it is something to agree with opponents even in an abstract principle.

"At the same time, to speak correctly, there seems a still more advisable mode of speaking of private judgment, than either of those which have been mentioned. It is neither the duty of all Christians, nor the *right* of all who are qualified, but the duty of all who are qualified."—pp. 173, 174.

We cite some other extracts of considerable length, in order that Mr. Newman's views may be thoroughly understood and exempted from misconstruction.

"The means which are given us to form our judgment by, exclusively of such as are supernatural, which do not enter into consideration, are various, partly internal, partly external. The internal means of judging are common sense, natural perception of right and wrong, the affections, the imagination, reason, and the like. The external are such as Scripture, the existing Church, Tradition, Catholicity, Learning, Antiquity, and the National Faith. Popular Protestantism would deprive us of all these external means, except the text of Holy Scripture; as if, I suppose, upon the antecedent notion that, when God speaks by inspiration, all other external means are superseded. But this is an arbitrary decision, contrary to facts; for unless inspiration made use of an universal language, learning at least must be necessary to ascertain the meaning of the particular language selected; and if one external aid be adopted, of course all antecedent objection to any other vanishes. This notion, then, though commonly taken for granted, must be pronounced untenable, nay, inconsistent with itself; yet upon it the prevailing neglect of external assistances, and the exaltation of private judgment, mainly rest. Discarding this narrow view of the subject, let us rather accept all the means which are put within our reach, as intended to be used, as talents which must not be neglected."—pp. 155, 156.

"Most men, I say, try to dispense with one or other of these divine informants; and for this reason,—because it is difficult to combine them. The lights they furnish, coming from various quarters, cast separate shadows, and partially intercept each other; and it is pleasanter to walk without doubt and without shade, than to have to choose what is best and safest. The Romanist would simplify matters by removing reason, Scripture, and antiquity, and depending mainly upon Church authority; the Calvinist relies on reason, criticism, and Scripture, to the disparagement of the moral sense, the Church, tradition, and antiquity; the Latitudinarian relies on reason, with Scripture in subordination; the mystic on the feelings and affections, or what is commonly called the heart; the politician takes the national faith as sufficient, and cares for little else; the man of the world acts by common sense, which is the oracle of the careless; the popular religionist considers the authorized version of Scripture to be all in all. But the true Catholic Christian is he who takes what God has given him, be it greater or less, despises not

the lesser because he has received the greater, yet puts it not before the greater, but uses all duly and to God's glory.

"I just now said that it was difficult to combine these several means of gaining divine truth, and that their respective informations do not altogether agree. I mean that at first sight they do not agree, or in particular cases; for abstractedly, of course, what comes from God must be one and the same in whatever way it comes; if it seems to differ from itself, this arises from our weakness. Even our senses seem at first to contradict each other, and an infant may have difficulty in knowing how to avail himself of them, yet in time he learns to do so, and unconsciously makes allowance for their apparent discordance; and it would be utterly folly on account of their differences, whatever they are, to discard the use of them. In like manner, conscience and reason sometimes seem at variance, and then we either call what appears to be reason sophistry, or what appears to be conscience weakness or superstition. Or, the moral sense and Scripture seem to speak a distinct language, as in their respective judgments concerning David; or Scripture and antiquity, as regards Christ's command to us to wash each other's feet; or Scripture and reason as regards miracles, or the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; or antiquity and the existing Church, as regards immersion in Baptism; or the national religion and antiquity, as regards the Church's power of jurisdiction; or antiquity and the propensities of nature, as regards the usage of celibacy; or antiquity and scholarship, as at times perhaps in the interpretation of Scripture.

"This being the state of the case, I make the following remarks; which, being for the sake of illustration, are to be taken but as general ones, without dwelling on extreme cases or exceptions.

"That Scripture, antiquity, and Catholicity cannot really contradict one another:

"That when the moral sense or reason seems to be on one side, and Scripture on the other, we must follow Scripture, except Scripture anywhere contained contradictions in terms, or prescribed undeniable crimes, which it never does:

"That when the sense of Scripture, as interpreted by reason, is contrary to the sense given to it by Catholic antiquity, we ought to side with the latter:

"That when antiquity runs counter to the present Church in important matters, we must follow antiquity; when in unimportant matters, we must follow the present Church:

"That when the present Church speaks contrary to our private notions, and antiquity is silent, or its decisions unknown to us, it is pious to sacrifice our own opinion to that of the Church:

"That if, in spite of our efforts to agree with the Church, we still differ from it, antiquity being silent, we must avoid causing any disturbance, recollecting that the Church, and not individuals, 'has authority in controversies of faith.'

"I am not now concerned to prove all this, but am illustrating the theory of private judgment, as I conceive the English Church maintains it. And now let us consider it in practice.

“ 2. It is popularly conceived that to maintain the right of private judgment, is to hold that no one has an enlightened faith who has not, as a point of duty, discussed the grounds of it and made up his mind for himself. But to put forward such doctrine as this, rightly pertains to infidels and sceptics only, and if great names may be quoted in its favour, and it is often assumed to be the true Protestant doctrine, this is surely because its advocates do not weigh the force of their own words. Every one must begin religion by faith, not by reasoning; he must take for granted what he is taught and what he cannot prove; and it is better for himself that he should do so, even if the teaching he receives contains a mixture of error. If he would possess a reverent mind, he must begin by obeying; if he would cherish a generous and devoted spirit, he must begin by venturing somewhat on uncertain information; if he would deserve the praise of modesty and humility, he must repress his busy intellect, and forbear to scrutinize. This is a sufficient explanation, were there no other, for the subscription to the thirty-nine articles, which is in this place exacted of those who come hither for education. Were there any serious objections to those articles, the case would be different; were there immorality or infidelity inculcated in them, or even imputed to them, we should have a warrant for drawing back; but even those who do not agree with them, will not say this of them. Putting aside then the consideration that they contain in them chief portions of the ancient creeds, and are the form in which so many pious men in times past have expressed their own faith, even the circumstance of their constituting the religion under which we are born is a reason for our implicitly submitting ourselves to them in the first instance. As the mind expands, whether by education or years, a number of additional informants will meet it, and it will naturally, or rather it ought, according to its opportunities, to exercise itself upon all of these, by way of finding out God's perfect truth. The Christian will study Scripture and antiquity, as well as the doctrine of his own Church; and may perhaps, in some points of detail, differ from it; but, even if eventually he differs, he will not therefore put himself forward, wrangle, protest, or separate from the Church. Further, he may go on to examine the basis of the authority of Scripture or of the Church; and if so, he will do it, not (as is sometimes irreverently said) ‘impartially’ and ‘candidly,’ which means sceptically and arrogantly, as if he were the centre of the universe, and all things might be summoned before him and put to task at his pleasure, but with a generous confidence in what he has been taught; nay, not recognizing, as will often happen, the process of inquiry which is going on within him. Many a man supposes that his investigation ought to be attended with a consciousness of his making it; as if it were scarcely pleasing to God unless he all along reflects upon it, tells the world of it, boasts of it as a right, and sanctifies it as a principle. He says to himself and others, ‘I am examining, I am scrutinizing, I am judging, I am free to choose or reject, I am exercising the right of private judgment.’ What a strange satisfaction! Does it increase the worth of our affections to reflect upon them as we feel them? Would our mourning for a friend become more valuable by our saying, ‘I am

weeping ; I am overcome and agonized for the second or third time ; I am resolved to weep ?' What a strange infatuation, to boast of our having to make up our minds ! What ! is it a great thing to be without an opinion ? is it a satisfaction to have the truth to find ?"—p. 158—163.

"I repeat it ; while Scripture is written by inspired men, with one and one only view of doctrine in their hearts and contemplations, even the truth which was from the beginning, yet being written not to instruct in doctrine, but for those who were already instructed in it, not with direct announcements but with intimations and implications of the faith, the qualifications for rightly apprehending it are so rare and high, that a prudent man, to say nothing of piety, will not risk his salvation on the chance of his having them ; but will read it with the aid of those subsidiary guides which ever have been supplied as if to meet our need. I would not deny as an abstract proposition that a Christian may gain the whole truth from the Scriptures, but would maintain that the chances are very seriously against a given individual. I would not deny, but rather maintain, that a religious, wise, and intellectually gifted man will succeed : but who answers to this description but the collective Church ? There, indeed, such qualifications might be supposed to exist ; what is wanting in one member being supplied by another, and the contrary errors of individuals eliminated by their combination. The Church truly may be said almost infallibly to interpret Scripture, though from the possession of past tradition, and amid the divisions of the time present, perhaps at no period in the course of the dispensation has she had the need and the opportunity of interpreting it for herself. Neither would I deny that individuals, whether from height of holiness, clearness of intellectual vision, or the immediate power of the Holy Ghost, have been and are able to penetrate through the sacred text into some portions of the divine system beyond without external help ; though since that help has ever been given, as to the Church, so to the individual, it is difficult to prove that the individual has performed what the Church has never attempted. None, however, it would seem, but a complete and accurately moulded Christian, such as the world has never or scarcely seen, would be able to bring out harmoniously and perspicuously the full divine characters which lie hid from mortal eyes within the inspired letter of the revelation. And this, by the way, may be taken as one remarkable test, or at least characteristic of error, in the various denominations of religion which surround us ; none of them embraces the whole Bible, none of them is able to interpret the whole, none of them has a key which will revolve through the entire compass of the wards which lie within. Each has its favourite text, and neglects the rest. None can solve the great secret and utter the mystery of its pages. One makes trial, then another : but one and all in turn are foiled. They retire, as the sages of Babylon, and make way for Daniel. The Church Catholic, the true prophet of God, alone is able to tell the dream and its interpretation."—p. 189—191.

Many, we are aware, will carp at these passages ; and some conscientious persons, who generally agree with Mr. Newman's principles, will think that two or three phrases in them are liable

both to question and to misconception; but their general sense is clear, nor can it be doubted that their main purport is to restrain the temerity of those who would form their religious system on circumscribed data, without reference to Catholic antiquity, the writings of the fathers, or the history of the Church, and, in that spirit of self-willed ignorance, which is of all earthly things the most intractable, peremptory, supercilious, and dogmatic. The spirit of Mr. Newman's reasoning would teach men to avoid the two opposite infirmities—on the one hand, a slothful credulity never inquiring, never thinking for itself, never *really judging* at all; on the other hand, a petulant contempt for the collective knowledge and experience of the rest of the world.

We may trace a strong resemblance, or indeed coincidence, between Mr. Newman's doctrine and Mr. W. F. Hook's,* and the latter, certainly, goes quite as far as the former. He says, for instance, in the third of his sermons lately preached before the University of Oxford, making the Fathers not only *evidence* but almost *law*;

“The heretic, professing his reverence for Scripture only, would put

* As these sermons may come hereafter regularly under our review, and would have come already but for an accident, we shall here content ourselves with saying, that they are written with many of the internals and almost all the *externals* of oratory, in a sonorous, energetic, cumulative strain of eloquence, which conveys a good notion of the peculiar power and impressiveness for which Mr. Hook's preaching is celebrated. By the way, there are two references to Collier, at pages 97 and 98, which do not appear to be quite accurate. Mr. Hook says, “when a commission was issued for the trial of heretics, an especial provision was made that no *spiritual person* should have any authority or power, however commissioned, to determine or judge any matter to be heresy, but only such as had heretofore been determined, or ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the Canonical Scriptures, or by the four first general councils. Nor is it only with respect to heresies that this rule is to be observed; it is also expressly ordained by canon, that the clergy, in their exposition of doctrine, shall receive as their guide, in subordination to Scripture, the Catholic fathers and primitive bishops. The same rule was laid down for the observance of the divines commissioned to make that version of the Bible which we still retain; for they were directed to refer to ‘the most celebrated fathers, when any word had several significations;’ and we still find the rule enforced in the proclamation for the last review of the Book of Common Prayer; the duty of the persons appointed for that purpose being declared to be, ‘to compare the same with the most ancient liturgies that have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times.’”—pp. 97, 98. Here he refers to Collier, Eccles. Hist. ii. 421—ii. 694—ii. 817. But Collier's words are, at ii. 694, and ii. 421. “When any word has several significations, that which has been commonly used by the most celebrated fathers should be preferred, *provided* it is agreeable to the context and analogy of faith.”

“No person or persons who shall be authorized by the queen, &c., to execute any spiritual jurisdiction, shall have any authority to determine any matter to be heresy, but only such as heretofore hath been determined to be heresy by the authority of the Canonical Scripture, or by the first four general councils or any of them, or by any other general council whence the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said Canonical Scripture, or such as hereafter should be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of the realm, with the assent of the Clergy in their convocation—any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.” Of course, Mr. Hook did not mean to misrepresent Collier; but he has hardly quoted him with exactness.

upon the words of Scripture his own meaning, and then argue, that since they could bear that construction, he was justified in abiding by his conclusions. And thus by Scripture, capriciously interpreted, could every vagary of the intellect be justified; for we have only to look through the coloured medium of our imagination to read in Scripture whatever we please. The argument of the Fathers with these persons was short and conclusive—‘we have no such doctrine,’ they would say, ‘neither the churches of God.’ They appealed to what had been universally received and acted upon in the apostolical churches; and they argued, if this doctrine can be established by the written word, *this* is the doctrine which was actually revealed, and ought consequently to be received, however specious your argument for what is merely a private opinion, originating either in pride of intellect, the weakness of superstition, or the reveries of fanaticism. The question was not, and is not, what sense will the Scripture bear, but what has in fact been revealed. It is by bearing this in mind that we make consistent passages in the Fathers which might otherwise appear inconsistent, and thus gain a strong argument against the Papist; for instance, when we find them at one time referring to the tradition of the Church as a guide that they would be most unwilling to forsake, and at another maintaining with all the vigour of their argument that Scripture, and Scripture *alone*, was the rule by which the truth of any doctrine could be proved. Tradition supplied the hypothesis, the Church asserted the proposition, and Scripture gave the proof.

“And was not this the principle upon which our ancestors here in England acted, when three centuries ago they banished from the Church of their forefathers the abominations of Popery? Did *they* imagine so vain a device as that every man might go to the Bible, and that too a translated one, and carve from thence a religion for himself? If they did, how strangely inconsistent was their conduct in publishing their institutions and necessary doctrines, their injunctions and articles, and catechisms and canons, and homilies—how much more inconsistent their having recourse to legal means to silence those who, as they thought, were corrupting, instead of correcting, the opinions of the age! Censures have been past on distinguished foreign reformers for their inconsistency in asserting for themselves the right of private judgment, and yet anathematizing others, when by the exercise of the same right they came to opposite conclusions. How they are to be defended it is not for me to say. Suffice it for us to know, that against our own ancestors no such charge can be established. If they did not admit the right of private judgment in others, they did not attempt to exercise it themselves. They deferred to Catholic tradition on all doubtful points, but they look leave to inquire what Catholic tradition really was, and thus to distinguish it from Popish assertion. We have only to refer to their writings to see how sensitive they were when any one insinuated that they wished to depart from Catholicism.”—pp. 78—80.

Again, at the beginning of the fourth sermon on *Tradition*.

“We frequently hear persons referring to the sentiments and quoting the opinions of the reformers, foreign and domestic, of the six-

teenth century, as if they were authoritative in the interpretation of Scripture, and as if it were incumbent upon us to be silent whenever they may speak. Yet why we should pay more of deference to the opinions of wise and good and learned men of the sixteenth century than we do to the opinions of wise and good and learned men of the nineteenth century, is a question more easily asked than satisfactorily answered. Why should Luther, or Melancthon, or Calvin be regarded extrinsically as commentators of Scripture, more skilful than any who have succeeded them, and who in many respects have possessed superior advantages? Why should Cranmer, or Ridley, or Latimer be more free from error than our present metropolitan and his suffragans? Good men they doubtless were, and great men, but still they were only gifted with those ordinary graces of the Spirit which the Church still dispenses. Our debt to them is great for their exertions against Popery; our debt to our own reformers is greater still for their having in most instances clearly marked the difference between true Catholicism and Romanism, and their example in contending for, yea, in dying for, what they believed to be God's truth, is to be zealously upheld as worthy of imitation to an age more distinguished for light than for love. But still they were not infallible, they were not faultless—in many respects they were all of them faulty—and, therefore, when to their dicta an appeal is made, as if from their decisions it were almost heresy to depart, we may fairly demand the grounds on which such authority is made to rest.

“But although their authority cannot be established, although the reformers were not one whit more infallible than the Pope of Rome, yet the fact that their writings are published and quoted as works to be referred to for the decision of controversies, proves that some authority is wanted—that the human mind, amid the prevailing collision of sentiment, while Scripture is made to speak one thing by this party and directly the reverse by that, is desirous of finding an umpire to whose decisions it may bow. The Roman Church is loud in her boastings and promises on this head; and as assertions are often taken for facts, we may attribute to this circumstance the many converts made to the Popish system wherever its more hideous features are concealed, and among those who are deficient in learning to perceive that the claims of the Pope of Rome can be substantiated neither by Scripture, nor by the consent of the universal church, (the Greek church even to this day protesting against Popish usurpation as rigorously as we do ourselves,) nor by any thing like primitive practice. These claims have been, in fact, a gradual encroachment upon the liberty of the Church, of which almost each step can be distinctly traced.

“But admitting that the authority neither of Popish prelate nor of Protestant reformer can be established; admitting and contending as we do for the sufficiency of Scripture, does it follow that there is no authority to be discovered sufficient to determine our judgments when Scripture appears to be ambiguous, or when from the same passages contradictory doctrines are inferred? Not so, says the Church of England. Her spirit may be gathered from the rules given to our divines, when in the early days of the Reformation they were appointed to hold a conference with certain Popish priests and Jesuits. ‘If they, the Papists, will show any ground of Scripture, and wrest it to their

own sense, let it be showed by the interpretation of the old doctors, such as were before Gregory I.'—'If they can show no doctor that agreed with them in their said opinion before that time, then conclude that they have no succession in that doctrine from the Apostles' time and above four hundred years after, when doctrine and religion were more pure; for that they can show no predecessor whom they can succeed in the same. Quod primum verum. *Tertullian.*' Would that those unauthorized individuals and self-appointed polemics, who rashly and presumptuously challenge the Romanists to discussion in the present day had never forgotten the rules laid down by the Church to which they still profess to belong, when she thus sent forth her children to fight with the enemy!"—pp. 93—97.

It is our feeling, we confess, that the term *right* of private judgment is awkward and unsuitable. We would rather speak of the *fitness*, or the *means*, or the *capacity* of private judgment. Either of these qualifications we should deny to thousands; but we hardly think that we should deny the abstract *right* even to any single individual. What! it will be asked, has the child the right to judge instead of its parents? Have ignorant, uninformed, uneducated persons the right to judge of matters which are beyond their knowledge? We can only repeat, that they are disqualified by circumstances; but that, nevertheless, we should not deny to them, abstractedly, a kind of inherent though *imperfect* right. This may seem a verbal distinction: but the difference will be immense in practical consequences. If we deny the *right*, we may never seek to improve the capacity; we shall rather, like the Church of Rome, endeavour to coerce men's opinions, and to keep them down by fetters at once degrading and demoralizing. If we deny the *capacity*, but yet allow the abstract though dormant right; and know at the same time that the right, such as it is, will, in all probability, if not of *necessity*, be exercised, whether for good or evil, as soon as the reason is awakened; then we shall rather endeavour to lead men up to the power of judging *well*, we shall endeavour to put before them directions and materials for judging: much as a prudent father acts towards his son, instilling indeed into his infant mind fixed principles and positive truths, but desiring that he should judge of them for himself, as soon as his understanding is strengthened and developed.

The Church of England, too, we conceive, although her reverence for Catholic antiquity is unquestionably very great; and although, with an eye of sorrowful indignation, she regards the religionist who disdains to listen to its voice as a vain and headstrong fanatic, yet does not ascribe actual infallibility to any man, or any council of men which cannot be proved to have received the divine gift of inspiration from above. The Church of England curbs the wild licence of individual and ill-regulated opinion; but we do not see that it infringes the *legitimate* right of

private judgment or interferes with its *necessary* exercise. The Church has authority in controversies of faith; the authority of a witness and depository of divine truth; but not the infallible authority of a *judge* from whom there is no appeal. The Church has its own terms of communion, and binds its own members by them; but every man has the option of judging and deciding for himself whether or not he will subscribe to those terms, whether or not he will be a member of that communion.

But we must stop, or we shall be hurried into a long, intricate, and delicate series of inquiries, while we still labour under the disadvantage of stating propositions which we have no room to establish. We cannot, however, conclude the topic without putting a few of our inferences together, and asserting the following canons, which are almost self-evident axioms, and may be of some practical utility in treading the slippery discussions respecting the nature or the right of private judgment.

1. A distinction is to be made between adherence to individual *pre-conception* or *prejudice*, and determination by the individual mind: between the previous opinion, or fancy, perhaps only floating and half-formed, and the *judicial act*, when reason sits on her supreme tribunal: for, in fact, the previous fancy may be sacrificed to the subsequent decision; and a man may not merely change his opinion, but *decide against himself*; and yield a real acquiescence to the pressure of overwhelming testimony although his own speculative prepossessions would still lean the other way.

2. Again, a distinction must be drawn between the *use* of private judgment, and the *abuse*; between the denial of private judgment to the individual, and the censure of private judgment, wantonly framed and pertinaciously maintained on insufficient grounds: as also between the general right, and the particular exercise: for a man may well say, "here is a point on which I am not qualified to judge," as on a philological question, when he knows nothing of languages; or "I should be mad and wicked to form such or such a judgment;" although he would cherish the *right* of judging for himself, as the dearest and most precious treasure of his moral existence.

3. It is the duty—for this argument we are anxious to press—it is the duty of those who have power and opportunity,—and there lies, indeed, a very serious obligation and responsibility upon all who are competent to such a task,—to provide for *others* who are less favoured, the best means and materials towards forming a *correct* judgment, to render them easy, to render them accessible: just because these others *will not* forego the right of judging; and because the mind of man, even in an apparently passive and quiescent state, is constantly receiving impressions which become judgments without any act of volition; and at length a whole pile

of these judgments is heaped up within it, almost without any immediate consciousness; and so the world is overrun with a multitude of heterogeneous and licentious phantasies, which may become deeply and almost uneradicably fixed, although they were planted negligently, and almost by chance;—thus realising what Pope said long ago,

“Tis with our judgments as our watches; none
Go just alike, but each believes his own.”

The application of these remarks to the case of religion and the Church will be without difficulty for our readers; and on a close inspection, we believe, they will in no respect be found essentially at variance with Mr. Newman's theory.

There are those, we are aware, who will not be satisfied: and who will attempt to make out Mr. Newman, in spite of himself, an implacable enemy to private judgment, in any signification of the term, and a champion for absolute infallibility and *despotic* authority now lodged somewhere in the Church. They will take grievous offence at such passages as the subjoined:—

“We, or others for us, have asserted our right of debating every truth, however sacred, however protected from scrutiny hitherto; we have accounted that belief alone to be manly which commenced in doubt, that inquiry alone philosophical which assumed no first principles, that religion alone rational which we have created for ourselves. Loss of labour, division, and error have been the three-fold gain of our self-will, as evidently visited in this world,—not to follow it into the next.”—p. 3.

“We have as little warrant for rejecting ancient consent as for rejecting Scripture itself; our private judgment is as much and as little infringed by the yoke of the Catholic sense as by the yoke of Scripture itself. Scripture is an infringement on our private judgment. It demands our assent; it threatens us if we refuse it; and towards it, too, we may exercise what we presumptuously call the right of private judgment. We may reject Scripture as we reject antiquity, and we may take the consequences of what in the next world will be seen to be either unavoidable ignorance or self-will.”—p. 325.

“We have now cleared the way to another important principle of the Anglican system, in which with equal discrimination it takes middle ground between Romanism and mere Protestantism. Our Church adheres to a double rule,* Scripture and Catholic tradition, and considers that in all matters necessary to salvation both safeguards are vouchsafed to us, and both the Church's judgment and private judgment superseded;

* “With them,” the Romanists, “both Scripture and Fathers are, as to the sense, under the correction and controul of the present Church; with us the present Church says nothing, but under the direction of Scripture and antiquity taken together, one as the rule, the other as the pattern or interpreter. Among them, the present Church speaks by Scripture and Fathers; with us, Scripture and Fathers speak by the Church. . . . Two witnesses are better than one, though one be superior.”—*Waterland, Eccles. Antiq.* 8, 9.

whereas the Romanist considers that points of faith may rest on tradition without Scripture, and the mere Protestant that they may be drawn from Scripture without the witness of tradition.”—p. 326.

To those, who insist that Scripture is the only *guide* to faith, as well as the only *rule*, the following, too, will be as wormwood.

“I will go further, and venture to deny that belief in the Scriptures, is, abstractedly, necessary to Church communion and salvation. It does not follow from this that any one, to whom they are actually offered, may without mortal sin reject them; but in the same way a man is bound to believe *all* truth which is brought home to him, not the Creed only. Still it may be true that faith in Scripture is not one of the conditions which the Church necessarily exacts of candidates for Baptism; and that it is not, is, I suppose, sufficiently clear. Heathen nations have commonly been converted, not by the Bible, but by Missionaries. If we insist that formal belief in the Canon of Scripture, as the inspired Word of God, has been a necessary condition of salvation, we exclude from salvation, as far as our words go, (which happily is, not at all,) multitudes even in the earliest ages of the Gospel, to say nothing of later times. A well-known passage of St. Irenæus is in point, in which he says; ‘Had the Apostles left us no Scriptures, doubtless it had been a duty to follow the course of tradition, which they gave to those whom they put in trust with the churches. This procedure is observed in many barbarous nations, such as believe in Christ, without written memorial, having salvation impressed through the Spirit in their hearts, and diligently preserving the old tradition.*’”—pp. 289, 290.

Yet what can a right-thinking Christian desire more than the admissions which we cite below?—

“Let us now return to the subject of Church authority, from which the discussion of private judgment has diverted us. As I have already implied, private judgment and Church authority, in matters of faith, do not, in principle, interfere with each other. The Church enforces, on her own responsibility, what is an historical fact, and ascertainable as other facts, and obvious to the intelligence of inquirers, as other facts; viz., the doctrine of the Apostles; and private judgment has as little exercise here as in any matters of sense or experience. It may as well claim a right of denying that the Apostles existed, or that the Bible exists, as that that doctrine existed and exists. We are not free to sit at home and speculate about every thing; there are things which we look at, or ask about, if we are to know them. Some things are matters of opinion, others of inquiry. The simple question is, whether the Church’s doctrine is apostolic, and how far apostolic. Now if we could agree in our answer, from examining Scripture, as we one and all agree about the general events of life, it would be well; but since we do not, we must have recourse to such sources as will enable us to do so, if there be such; and such, I would contend, is ecclesiastical antiquity. There is, then, no intricacy and discordance of claims between the Church and private judgment in the abstract; the Church enforces a fact—apostolical tradition—as the doctrinal key to Scripture, and pri-

vate judgment expatiates beyond the limits of that tradition ; both the one and the other on its own responsibility."—pp. 224, 225.

"Scripture is in itself specially fitted for that office which we assign it in our article ; to be a repository of manifold and various doctrine, a means of proof, a standard of appeal, an umpire and test between truth and falsehood in all emergencies. It thus becomes the nearest possible approach to the perpetual presence of the Apostles in the Church ; whereas tradition, being rather a collection of separate truths, facts, and usages, is wanting in flexibility and adaptation to the subtle questions and difficulties which from time to time arise. A new heresy, for instance, would be refuted by tradition only negatively, on the very ground that it was new ; but by Scripture positively, by the use of its text, and by suitable inferences from it."—p. 347.

"Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation ; that is, either as being read therein or deducible therefrom ; not that Scripture is the only ground of the faith, or ordinarily the guide into it and teacher of it, or the source of all religious truth whatever, or the systematizer of it, or the instrument of unfolding, illustrating, enforcing, and applying it ; but that it is the document of ultimate appeal in controversy, and the touchstone of all doctrine. †

We differ, then, from the Romanist in this, not in denying that tradition is valuable, but in maintaining that by itself, and without Scripture warrant, it does not convey to us any article necessary to salvation ; in other words, that it is not a rule distinct and co-ordinate, but subordinate and administrative."—pp. 369, 370.

Such statements as these must be most gratifying to all orthodox churchmen, although they may fail in propitiating enthusiasts, whom it really is not worth Mr. Newman's trouble to seek to propitiate.

It is requisite, we say again, to pay attention throughout to the entire scope and spirit of this volume ; and to consider it as a whole, with reference to the specific end with which it was composed. To detach small fragments from the context, to pick out, for the sake of disparagement, a sentence in one place, and half a sentence in another, would be the work of an unfair as well as foolish enemy. This, too, must be observed. Mr. Newman has nothing of inconsistency ; his view is clear and steady ; but he has adopted, not a nomenclature and vocabulary new in our theology, but a set of terms to which he has now and then affixed a novel meaning. His language, also, has occasionally that want of strictness and definiteness, which would be a serious fault in a philosophical treatise, but is almost inseparable from the delivery of Parochial Lectures to a mixed congregation.

Some, for instance, may wish that even the terms "*Church*," and "*authority of the Church*," had been sometimes more precisely defined. Some, likewise, may many, will regret the injurious sense which Mr. Newman has frequently put, not upon the word *Ultra-Protestant* or *Ultra-Protestantism*, but upon *Pro-*

testant and *Protestantism*, without any prefix or addition. It will shock their notions, that Mr. Newman should appear desirous to separate himself even from the name. And yet Mr. Newman is a Protestant—a resolute and inestimable defender of Protestantism. In one sense we are all Protestants; and we are not the less Protestants, because in another sense we are Catholics. Indeed, it is quite allowed—as *other* places in the volume will show, whether taken in the letter or in the spirit, and even the very phrase, “*Popular Protestantism*,” which meets us in the title-page—that we all belong to the *genus* Protestants, although not to that particular species which Mr. Newman reprobates.

But what are these little drawbacks and inadvertencies, even if they exist in the book, and not, as may be the case, simply in our fancy? The more we examine this most valuable and interesting production, into which Mr. Newman has poured the copiousness of his reading, the intenseness and the ripeness of his meditative study, the more are we grateful for the pleasure and information which he has afforded us. How many and how important are the points, on which Dr. Pusey, Mr. Newman, and their friends, are entitled to the tribute, not merely of our assent, but of our admiration: how many and how important are the points, on which we may conscientiously hail them, not only as allies, but as instructors.

Especially, perhaps, ought we to respect them, as the most terrible adversaries of the corruptions of the Church of Rome. We have often expressed our conviction, that in England there is far more to be dreaded from Ultra-Protestantism than from Popery. That subtle and active system may obtain conquests, by inserting its wedge between the mysticism and the rationalism of Germany—between the superstition and infidelity of France—between the Unitarianism and Calvinism of America:—but we do not apprehend that it will ever win much ground against the sound learning and manly practical understanding of Anglican Churchmen. Still less do we imagine, that it will overthrow the positions here taken by Mr. Newman, or even make head against them. We beg to refer all who may be sceptical on this matter, to the second and third, to the eighth, to the twelfth and thirteenth, in fact, to all the lectures in the volume. The strictures on some mighty topics amount almost to a demolition of Romanism. They contain, at least, statements and reasonings, which the adherents of Popery will find it impossible to answer, and yet indispensable to *attempt* to answer. As to the *tone* of the argument, who will not be contented with the subjoined citations, which we cannot abstain from making, although, as we said at the beginning, we have purposely avoided any lengthened examination of the more directly theological portions of Mr. New-

man's work? Where, at least, is the reasonable Protestant, who will want more?—

“They (the Romanists) profess to appeal to primitive Christianity; we honestly take their ground, as holding it ourselves; but when the controversy grows animated, and descends into details, they suddenly leave it and desire to finish the dispute on some other field. In like manner, in their teaching and acting, they begin as if in the name of all the Fathers at once, but will be found in the sequel to prove, teach, and conduct matters simply in their own name. Our differences from them, considered not in theory but in fact, are in no sense matters of detail and questions of degree. In truth, there is a tenet in their theology which assumes quite a new position in relation to the rest, when we pass from the abstract and quiescent theory to the practical workings of the system. The infallibility of the Church is then found to be its first principle, whereas, before, it was a necessary, but a secondary doctrine. Whatever principles they profess in theory, resembling, or coincident with our own, yet when they come to particulars, when they have to prove this or that article of their creed, they supersede the appeal to Scripture and antiquity by the pretence of the infallibility of the Church, thus solving the whole question, by a summary and final interpretation both of antiquity and of Scripture.”—pp. 59, 60.

“Romanism, however it may profess a reverence for antiquity, does not really feel and pay it. There are, in fact, two elements in operation within the system. As far as it is Catholic and Scriptural, it appeals to the Fathers; as far as it is a corruption, it finds it necessary to supersede them. Viewed in its formal principles and authoritative statements, it professes to be the champion of past times; viewed as an active and political power, as a ruling, grasping, ambitious principle, in a word, what is expressively called Popery, it exalts the will and pleasure of the existing Church above all authority, whether of Scripture or antiquity, interpreting the one, and disposing of the other by its absolute and arbitrary decree.

“We must take and deal with things as they are, not as they pretend to be. If we are induced to believe the professions of Rome, and make advances towards her as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative, who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach. No; dismissing the dreams which the romance of early Church history and the high theory of Catholicism will raise in the guileless and inexperienced mind, let us be sure that she is our enemy, and will do us a mischief when she can. In saying and acting on this conviction, we need not depart from Christian charity towards her. We must deal with her as we would towards a friend who is visited by derangement; in great affliction, with all affectionate tender thoughts, with tearful regret and a broken heart, but still with a steady eye and a firm hand. For in truth she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as

madmen are. Or rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac ; possessed with principles, thoughts, and tendencies, not her own, in outward form and in outward powers what God made her, but ruled within by an inexorable spirit, who is sovereign in his management over her, and most subtle and most successful in the use of her gifts. Thus she is her real self only in name, and, till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her. And in saying this, I must not be supposed to deny that there is any real excellence in Romanism even as it is, or any really excellent men adherents to it. Satan ever acts on a system ; various, manifold, and intricate, with parts and instruments of different qualities, some almost purely evil, others so unexceptionable, that in themselves, and detached from the end to which all is subservient, they are really ‘ Angels of light,’ and may be found so to be at the last day. In Romanism there are some things absolutely good, some things only just tainted and sullied, some things corrupted, and some things in themselves sinful ; but the system itself so called, as a whole, and therefore all parts of it, tend to evil.”—p. 100—102.

“ The case stands as follows ; Romanism first professes a common ground with ourselves—a readiness to stand or fall by antiquity. When we appeal to antiquity accordingly, it shifts its ground, substituting for ancient testimony abstract arguments. If we question its abstract arguments, it falls back upon its infallibility. If we ask for the proof of its infallibility, it can but attempt to overpower the imagination by its attempt at system, the boldness, decision, consistency, and completeness with which it urges and acts upon its claim. Yet in this very system, thus ambitious of completeness, we are able to detect one or two serious flaws in the theory of the very doctrine which that system seems intended to sustain.”—pp. 150, 151.

We give just one more extract, to show what sort of a *Papist* Mr. Newman is :—

“ If this view of the subject be in the main correct, it would follow that the Ancient Church will be our model in all matters of doctrine, till it broke up into portions, and for Catholic agreement substituted peculiar and local opinions ; but that since that time the Church has possessed no fuller measure of the truth than we see it has at this day ; viz., merely the fundamental faith. And such appears to be the principle adopted by our own writers, in their disputes concerning those questions in the superstructure of faith in which our Church differs from her sisters elsewhere. They refer to those times when the Church spoke but one language ; they refer to antiquity, as the period when all Christians agreed together in faith. And thus we shall be able to answer the question commonly put to us by Romanists concerning the date of their corruptions. They consider it fair to call upon us to show *when* their doctrines, supposing them errors, were introduced, as if the impossibility of our doing this accurately, would be a proof that they were not introductions. They challenge us to draw the line between the pure and corrupt ages of the Church ; and, when we reply discordantly, they

triumph in what they consider a virtual refutation of our charge. They argue, that what betrays no signs in history of being introduced was never introduced, but is part of the original Gospel; and when we object the silence of antiquity concerning the Roman doctrines, they retort upon us what they allege to be a similar silence in history concerning their rise. Now, let us apply to this argument the foregoing considerations on the subject of unity. Are not Christians for certain divided now? as Romanists themselves will be the first to acknowledge; then must there have been a time when they began to be divided; even though the year and the day cannot be pointed out, and we differ one with another in determining it. Now, it is upon this very fact of the schism that I ground the corruption of doctrine; the one has taken place when and so far as the other has taken place, though the history of both the one and the other be unknown. If asked, then, for the point of time when Christian truth began to be impaired, I leave it for Romanists to answer, when Christian unity began to be compromised. We are not bound to assign it. It is a question of degree and place, not to mention the imperfection of historical documents. Who can trace the formal acts of schism running through the whole Church, and combining, as the jarrings in some material body, to split it into fragments? Let us, then, clearly understand what is meant by this question. We disclaim the notion, that there was any one point of time at which the Church suddenly sunk into the gulf of error; we do not say she ever so sunk as not to be in a truer sense not sunken; and we think it trifling to ask us for the first rise or the popular introduction of the doctrines we condemn. Granting there are distinct grounds for suspecting them, this is a pure historical question; and, if unanswered, is but an historical obscurity, not a theological difficulty. It is enough if we do just so much as we are able to do in respect to the divisions of the Church, when we point out the formal and public acts of schism, and their age and place. To quarrel with us because we do no more, nay, or because we differ among ourselves in a question of dates, is as preposterous as it would be to object to the received interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years, because three separate commencements may be assigned to the period, or to deny that Daniel's of the seventy weeks was fulfilled in Christ's coming, on account of the difficulties which attend its nice adjustment in detail.

“Until, then, Romanists maintain that their Church has not quarrelled with others, as well as kept the faith incorrupt, they gain no triumph in proving differences among our divines in what is merely a point of history. Till their Church maintains her own infallibility as regards matters of fact, they may well bear the errors of individuals among us in a question of that nature. For it is little more than this; since the greater number of our writers, whether they say the Church's faith was first impaired at the end of the fourth century, or in the eighth, still agree in the principle of appealing to those ages which they respectively consider to lie within the period of peace and union; and when they seem to differ, they are often but speaking of different stages of the long history of error, of its first beginnings, or its establishment,

or the public protests against it,—of the earlier time, when truth was universally maintained, or of the later, when error was universal.”—p. 241—244.

We have heard some men say, in their warm attachment to Mr. Newman's writings, that, even if his views were extreme, still, as so much has been lately thrown into the opposite scale, they would, not the less, but perhaps almost the more, adjust the equipoise of truth. Mr. Newman will hardly thank them for this defence. He demands their praise and regard on much better grounds. There are many men who are content to allege, with a noisy and eternal iteration, that the Pope is Antichrist, and that the Roman Church is the harlot of Babylon. Mr. Newman stands at the antipodes from these declaimers, and treats the system of Popery in another way. In declaring against the corruptions of Romanism, he is as staunch a Protestant as themselves; but the difference is, that he does more than protest; he searches and discriminates, he argues and demonstrates, while they can only cry "*wolf*." We heartily thank him for having here unfolded and expanded his views. His present work, we do trust, will help to dissipate the fond misapprehensions and alarms which some steadfast friends of English orthodoxy had at one time entertained, that Dr. Pusey, Mr. Newman, and even Mr. Keble, with others inclined *jurare in verba* of these excellent men, were ambitious to distinguish themselves by some startling peculiarities, and to introduce a new school of divinity. Now these startling peculiarities mainly consist in a respectful preference of Catholic antiquity and primitive order to theological innovation and turbulent confusion, and in the re-introduction of some neglected topics; with the addition, perhaps, in particular instances, of a rather unusual phraseology. Their labours, we truly believe,—or nothing should induce us to speak well of them,—may altogether harmonize with the established orthodoxy of the land; and not only harmonize with it, but materially strengthen its cause, and enlarge the sphere of its knowledge and its usefulness; while they bring to the Church an allegiance, not abject and slavish, but reverential and filial; and teach men to unite with the sublimest investigations of the intellect a meek, docile, and loyal disposition.

ART. X.—1. *Chambers's Educational Course.* Orr and Smith. London.

2. *Two Lectures, and Three Addresses, delivered at the Institution of Staines, for the Promotion of Science and Literature.* Published at Staines and in London.

3. *De Quincy on Imitation in the Fine Arts.*

THE time is at hand, when the great science of society must be cultivated in its unity as a whole, as well as in its separate parts. The masses of thought and knowledge are already floating together into a kind of consolidation.

Religion must be the first guide and teacher of this social science; albeit that when viewed in its highest aspect, perhaps, religion regards man in his individual, rather than in his political or social capacity. How, at least, can we hope for a steady advance in social improvement, without anxiously guarding the truth, the purity, and the soundness of religion. For the seeds of felicity are then sown, when there is brought to the hearth of every family, and to the heart of every individual, the calm, the pure, the lovely spirit of the Gospel;—that spirit, active in all good, patient in all evil; zealous without rage, and meek without pusillanimity, and prudent without compromise. Oh, Christianity, the mistress of all virtuous energy, the restraint and conqueror of otherwise uncontrollable misfortune, thou, that breathest a holier and healthier atmosphere around thee, wherever thou art: thou, that art, even upon earth, the hope, and the glory, and the blessing of mankind, be thou still our ruler and guide, as we would strive to ameliorate the condition of our race!

These positions we venture to lay down as fundamental axioms, which no reflecting person will venture to dispute or disregard, as he looks around him upon the existing circumstances of the world. We may add, that it is the very essence of Christianity to promote the highest good of mankind; to secure the greatest happiness of the species at large, while it brings every unit of the species to the highest point of attainable perfection. We may add, yet again, that, as we sincerely believe the Church of England to be the most shining light of Christianity, it is the business, in a more especial manner, of that Church to undertake the mighty work, under the blessing of God, and the influence of his Holy Spirit. Still farther, we may add, that it must be one province of a national Church to take the lead in carrying forward the social progress of the nation.

Hence it follows, as a corollary, that, as Christians, as members of the Church of England, we are bound, in every possible way, and by every conceivable inducement, to examine, with active and comprehensive vision, this illustrious problem of human improve-

ment, and bend all our energies to its solution, generally as our race, and more particularly as our country is concerned.

These truths are indeed so obvious, that we place them in the foreground, not as parts, but rather as starting-posts of our argument. We would state them as our directing principles, not merely for the few pages which our observations can now occupy, but for other and future articles, which we hope to make more methodical, more systematic, and far worthier of their subject than the present.

Here we must be content to seize just three or four fragments of a gigantic inquiry, stretching over the entire field which is open to the hallowed steps of philosophy, or piety, or patriotism; and even these we can scarcely pretend to pursue into their details. Our intention, in fact, here, as in the mention of ecclesiology in our last number, is simply to *indicate* some of the points on which we may hereafter expatiate.

First, we would premise just two or three words, in order to state the reason why we conceive that it is by no means a hopeless or impracticable task to grapple with this sublime and spirit-stirring problem in the present state of man's moral and intellectual advancement.

Whether as to speculation or practice, the process of human improvement is in many respects the same. Sciences first start up, we will not say by mere chance and hazard, but one by one, here and there, as emergencies arise, or as objects present themselves to the vision of man. Observatories, as it were, are erected in different parts, and survey different latitudes in the hemispheres of knowledge. By degrees, other stations are taken, new investigations are pursued, and various kinds of information spread and ramify themselves, with a sort of geometrical progression. Thus, as has been admirably said, sciences approximate as they extend; until, at length, from the casual desultory way in which they have originated, they trench upon each other, they intersect each other, they run into each other; so that they require to have their respective boundaries re-assigned, to be at once distinguished by a fresh nomenclature and classification, and bound together into a philosophical unity.

The practical world is here, as we have just hinted, almost a counterpart of the speculative. Efforts are made in the first instance, as a want is felt at some particular point in the vast sphere of human action. Then come other wants, and other efforts as their consequence: individuals or societies push forth their energies in this and that direction:—their designs and operations, like the provinces of science, approximate as they expand and multiply, until the whole circle, which in the beginning had

been merely dotted at various spots of the circumference, is more and more filled up. Then, however, in action, as in knowledge, occurs the need of a connected and systematic plan, by which all the projects, though of course not all the details, may be grasped at a single view. A comprehensive wisdom must arrange what necessity suggested; dividing and yet blending; combining centralization and diffusion; and marking out for the several parts their proper place in the unity of the whole. For, otherwise, there will be again, and again, and yet constantly again, a waste of exertion, a clash of objects; and the misfortune is, that some things will not even be done once, while other things are done three or four times over.

The ultimate stage of improvement in action, as in science, is, of course, that in which there will be both the greatest unity and the greatest variety; the greatest amount, and the least confusion, of operations; the best direction, and the least loss, of power. The world has not yet arrived at this last stage: but it is, we trust, advancing towards it. Christianity, above all things, is helping it forward: and Christianity, as to its development, will itself benefit by the march. The glorious application of the Gospel to all the phases and all the exigencies of humanity, will be more diversified and yet more simple; wider, and yet more within the compass of Christian benevolence and zeal. More and more, through every department, and through the union of them all, the principles will direct the application; the application will verify, and illustrate, and confirm the principles.

Certain it is, that men are now rapidly coming to the knowledge, in how hitherto uncalculated a degree union is strength, and what wonders may be achieved by the junction of many forces. Churchmen, we are sure, will not be the only persons to be unmindful how vast is the utility, and how strong the necessity of acting together, as well as singly; in a body, as well as apart; and of employing in unison all the resources with which God has entrusted them, for the purposes of stamping upon the great family of mankind that impress which they desire to see engraven on its heart.

For when we consider both the direct and indirect action of the Church upon society; when we consider the immediate influence of its manifold and multiform ministrations, and likewise that other influence, which is carried on through many intermediate steps, and traceable chiefly in the results:—when we consider what the Church does in its corporate capacity and by its collective energy; what it does by the numerous societies which are attached to it; what it does by the constant exertions of its thousands of able, vigilant, and devoted members, allocated to every spot in the land,

—the *range* of its operations, actual or possible, can scarcely be overstated. It affects, or may affect, all that is spiritual or moral in humanity, all that is intellectual, all that is æsthetical, all that is physical.

1. The spiritual action of the Church hardly comes within the limits of our present subject; or we should have much to say on the building and endowment of new churches, and other kindred points, to which, however, the public mind is now happily alive. Yet we cannot but just touch upon the necessity of communicating to the youthful portion of the higher and middle classes, a more complete and systematic knowledge of the main features of theology and ecclesiology, of ecclesiastical doctrines and discipline and history, than they are now found to possess.* It is most essential that the sons and daughters of our aristocracy, our gentry, and our respectable tradesmen, should have some rational conviction, and therefore some exact and methodized information, as to what their religion is, why they are Christians, and why they belong to the Church. The sermons delivered on Sunday, which must be, for the most part, miscellaneous and hortatory addresses, cannot adequately effect this end. It has been proposed to effect it, either by Sunday-schools of a higher character, or by lectures on some day in the week, which should present the elements of divinity in an easy and attractive form; or by oral catechism; or by the distribution of printed questions; or, through the medium of the press, by publications having this specific object in view. All that we can do now, is to point out the deficiency, the hiatus, and the necessity of filling it up: and we cannot but add, that, if none of these particular plans should be feasible, and yet if the Church ought to be the instrument of knowledge and amelioration to all ranks of society, how vastly important it is, that there should then, in some way or other, be an enlarged, expansive, comprehensive scheme of theological and moral teaching from the pulpit; and that its addresses should not be confined, perpetually and exclusively, to two or three vital points, the rudiments and alphabet of religion, which are always requisite to be borne in mind, but not always requisite to be repeated:—which must always indeed be the foundation, and yet which are comparatively useless, if no superstructure be reared upon it, large and of harmonious beauty.

2. The intellectual action of the Church upon society would afford ample matter to fill a volume. We need hardly refer to

* Something has been done—and done excellently—by Mr. Newman, in his week-day Parochial Lectures, lately published, on “Romanism and popular Protestantism.” But a plan simpler and more elementary, less controversial and more didactic, would be generally required in the first instance.

the hackneyed, but ever momentous topic of national education ; —we need scarcely repeat our deep anxiety for the establishment of a new class of schools for both sexes *between* the parochial schools for the instruction of the very poor, and the proprietary schools, which are now spreading and multiplying throughout the land ; we need scarcely reiterate what we have so often said, that the Church will commit a kind of suicide, unless it declares itself and exhibits itself, not reluctantly and as if by compulsion, but cordially and cheerfully, favourable to every degree and every department of true knowledge. The clergy, too, if they would put down Popery, and oppose Infidelity with full effect, will do well to foster and encourage to the utmost every species of intelligence and intellectual activity among the people :—they will do well, for instance, to take by the hand Mechanics' Institutes and Societies among the Operatives for Mutual Instruction—Literary and Scientific Institutions in the Middle Classes—Lending Libraries—Itinerating Libraries, and various other means by which (so called) useful knowledge is diffused ;—precisely, in order that useful knowledge may be incorporated with religion—not estranged and divorced from it.

It is an axiom, indeed, on which we can never insist enough, that the religion of the country must be put in *alliance* with the intelligence of the country ; that the Church of England must proffer the right hand of fellowship, of friendship, of brotherhood, to useful knowledge, to physical and mechanical science. Clergymen must act upon the belief, that *ignorance*—and imperfect or false knowledge is but ignorance with another name—is the deadliest foe which true religion has to dread ; that mental and moral improvement are in reality one ; and that it is the union of faith and philosophy which must form the brightest constellation in the hemisphere of human destiny. To the advocacy of these sentiments, and therefore to the furtherance of human information of every kind, they must give, we say again, not a forced and ungracious acquiescence, but a frank, hearty and eager assistance. There must be no hesitation, no reservation, no vacillation in the business. Oh, let them diffuse Christian knowledge, and inculcate religious verities to the very utmost boundary of their resources and their influence : here let the energy of their exertions be indeed without stint or measure ; and against the pestilence of impious and demoralizing productions, let them fairly offer their own publications as a counteraction and an antidote. But let them beware, when no actual attack upon religion is made, of giving, or seeming to give, the sermon in *opposition* to the scientific lecture, of distributing the tract in *opposition* to the newspaper, of setting up any religious or conservative association in *opposition* to the Me-

chanics' Institute. At least, let the ground of opposition be so stated, as to be beyond the reach of mistake. Let them declare to their antagonists that the real point of difference is simply this. "You would teach only human knowledge; we would also teach divine; and divine, as not hostile, but as immeasurably superior to human. We dream not of arraying either against the other. But you take one, and we both. We think the basis of your institutions unsound, because it is *narrow*. It is not wide enough, or strong enough, for the lofty fabric which you would raise upon it. We would do all that you profess to do; but we would likewise do other and better things in addition." Let this ground be openly, avowedly, and unambiguously taken, and the position of Churchmen is impregnable. But, otherwise, if the land could be studded with new Churches to-morrow, and zealous, sanguine, conscientious ministers should go from house to house, as the apostles of faith against knowledge, as if faith and knowledge were as rival banners, under which enemies were to be enlisted, madly representing an antipathy, where there is, in fact, the closest agreement,—namely, between the two revelations of God, the written revelation of his creed, and the unwritten revelation of the universal page of nature and life, or, again, between the precepts of the Bible, and the truths which the great science of social economy is eliciting day by day,—they will, so far, do a disservice to religion, they will strip the Christian temples of a part of their efficacy, and only the more estrange the manhood of the country from its ecclesiastical establishment. Oh, be it ours to begin at both ends; to set fire to the train of knowledge in many places at once, and bear a hundred torches of unquenchable light into the gloomy caves of ignorance and ungodliness. Religion and human knowledge are joint as well as gigantic levers in the improvement of society. For all things which contribute to the true happiness of mankind are akin one to another: there is a bond of union throughout them all; nay, there is not only a link of connexion but a principle of identity. There is a something common in their origin and in their end. There is between them not merely an alliance, but a consanguinity. At any rate, human knowledge is not to be stopped or impeded. We can no more arrest its progress by our impotent cavils, than we can roll back the flowing tide with the palms of our hands. We must, as every body has said, direct the current, which no efforts can conquer or dry up. Profound is our conviction, that more of *Christian* knowledge will be disseminated by this process than by any other; the dominion of Christian feeling will be wider and more secure; the spread of Christian truths will be more rapid and more permanent. How can we ever think that the God who

framed our mental constitution, and infused into it the thirst for every species of knowledge, can look with jealousy or displeasure on the *prosecution* of knowledge, when it is not made an antagonist principle to faith? The first ambassadors of Christ, the first teachers of Christianity, it may be said, had nothing to do, and would have nothing to do, with man's wisdom and man's philosophy: but the first propagation of the Gospel was effected by supernatural means. It was a miracle: it was a march of miracles along the world. We, who have no supernatural means, must use strenuously and conjointly all those human means which, by God's blessing, we possess in a larger abundance. If any Christians refuse to treat science as an auxiliary and a blessing, it will be insinuated that Christianity is a system not of enlightenment, but darkness: if they object to the strictest analysis of arguments, to the largest and the severest exercise of thought, it will be said that their dislike proceeds from a secret misgiving on which side the truth is to be found; if they will in no degree adapt their methods and their reasonings to the capacities and mental habits of those around them, it will be as if the Apostles, neglecting the glorious gift which was vouchsafed to them, had continued to speak to their hearers in a language which they could not understand. But these things must not be. Soon may illuminations meet from the opposite quarters of the horizon, and the day shine out with its meridian brightness, when religion, bearing the majestic port of one conquering and to conquer, shall step forward and demand the homage of humanity, with the Bible in her right hand, and the volume of human knowledge in her left!

Churchmen, then, must turn to their account the prevalent love of cheap and diffusive knowledge. They must make use of that principle of combination which is now forming men in the middle and lower ranks into literary and philosophical clubs, and through which the deficiencies of the individual are supplied by the joint contributions of the many. Looking at religion and politics, when rightly understood—for we scorn to speak of factious partisanship—as the highest of all sciences, we are not among those who deprecate the addition of religious and political inquiries to the rest. On the contrary, we are sure that into such associations religion and politics will be introduced. Men will not meet together in constant and habitual intercourse, without sooner or later talking over those matters, which are now uppermost in almost every man's mind. It is more than suspected that among the operatives at Manchester and Liverpool, and other large towns in the north of England, and in Scotland;—among the men with whom the institutions to which we allude, are in the most

flourishing condition, and who are supposed to take the lead of their fellow-mechanics in acuteness of mind and range of information—a very large proportion must be put down as infidels or Unitarians in religion, and, if not absolutely as revolutionists, at least disposed to organic changes in politics. There is but one way of remedying this mischief;—namely, by taking care that sound religion and constitutional politics shall be exhibited in conjunction with those other departments of knowledge to which the operatives are attached both of necessity and by choice.

Again, while classical erudition is kept up in our great schools, and that purity of taste is engendered by it, which is in some way allied to virtue, it is desirable, it is indispensable, that some counteraction should be given to the misleading poetry and the loose morality of a large portion of profane literature. It will no longer be endured that the strains of Ovid, or (so called) Anacreon, or even Homer, should form the *staple* of a boy's instruction, and that ungente and voluptuous propensities should be introduced into the mind as its daily food, in those public seminaries of learning, which are the nurseries of our statesmen, our professional men, and even our clergymen. The antidotes of Christian truths and Christian feeling must be administered; and we rejoice to think, as we have observed in a former article, that for this purpose more and more is done, year after year, in all the leading schools of the kingdom.

A vast, and almost infinite, deal is nevertheless required, in order to examine our past histories by the test of the Gospel, and to put our education, our literature, the prevailing tone of opinion, and the prevailing habits of conduct, in unison and harmony with our *faith*. At present, the contrast in many respects is most wondrous and most calamitous. The work, therefore, upon the Church is here immense, and the exertions of the clergy are imperatively called for. To trace the connection and relation which these things bear to each other—to survey our literature, whether scientific or popular, whether addressed to the reason or the imagination, by the light of Christianity—to examine, with the Gospel for our guide and beacon, what its aspect is, and what it ought to be; to inquire, with sincerity and strictness, how far our modes of life are Christian, how far our public diversions are Christian, how far our poetry, for instance, our novels, our magazines, and newspapers, are Christian; this is a business to which no member of the Church can be indifferent, who entertains a genuine solicitude for the social improvement of mankind, and who is at all competent to estimate the bearing of these subjects either upon national character or upon individual happiness. High as is the value which we attribute to sound publications cheaply

provided and universally dispersed, and entirely as we are of opinion that a channel is here opened for churchmen into which they may force their energies with unspeakable advantage, it is scarcely of less consequence that they should frame to themselves just and comprehensive views of the *general* literature of their age or country, with express reference to its religion,* as also the general modes in which its intellectual and social activities are conspicuously developed. By way of explaining what we mean, we would take the stage as an instance, and say just two words of dramatic representations and dramatic compositions.

Now, we can well conceive the possibility as an abstract proposition, that the influence of the drama should be good; and that a well-regulated stage might be an aid to morals, and through morals to religion: and we should regret to see the holy influences of Christianity forcibly and entirely rent apart from the polished arts and intellectual recreations of human society. But we cannot regard the theatres of Europe, or at least of England, in their actual state, as objects of panegyric. As places of assembly, they present little more than a focus for the profligacies of a capital; they are too often stepping-stones to other and more abandoned haunts,—schools of sensuality and disorder,—holding out incentives to passion, and facilities to seduction; offending taste, shocking decency, rubbing off the bloom, the freshness, the chaste and delicate sensitiveness of virtue, from all who habitually frequent them: and upon their scenes, they furnish neither a guide to conduct, nor a mirror of life. Instead of tragedy, they exhibit, for the most part, sentimental or melo-dramatic extravagances, which outrage nature and reason, and propose dazzling but pernicious qualities for admiration and imitation, full of mischievous clap-traps, and preposterous rant: instead of comedy, they exhibit low and witless farces, of which the gross immorality is only equalled by the uneradicable vulgarity; which seem, as their chief aim, to inculcate the duty, and the pleasure, and the advantage of forbidden attachments, and clandestine marriages; which make a point of rewarding the most equivocal stratagems, and exposing honest simplicity to scorn; which teach children to despise and defy the authority of their parents, by surrounding age with ridiculous associations, and showing, how the appetites of youth are far wiser than the lessons of experience: which teach servants to deceive and betray their masters, that they may enjoy and re-

* Many productions may afford us an opportunity of taking this comprehensive review, and first, perhaps, among them would come the "*Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*," by his son-in-law, and literary executor, Mr. Lockhart—a work which, from the one volume already published, seems admirably begun, and which must have an interest transcendent and almost unique in our general literature.

procure the amatory confidence of their sons and daughters, and help forward the progress of some illicit intrigue : which are replete with notions, with which no prudent man could wish his offspring to be imbued ; and not unfrequently with language which no modest woman could hear without a blush.*

There are, of course, many and honourable exceptions ; but we fear that our portraiture is only too exact of the general run of productions, which are written for our stage, and the general aspect which our theatres display. While, therefore, we see much to regret in the cross-bills which have so often been filed by the Church against the theatre, and the theatre against the Church ; in the denunciations which have been fulminated on the one part, and the sarcasms which have been hurled upon the other ; while we believe that much evil has arisen, both in France and England, where the pulpit has been most vehemently and indignantly the enemy of the stage, we do not perceive, how it can now consistently and conscientiously be its friend ; and alas ! here, as in a thousand other instances, it is far easier to discern the mischief, than to provide a remedy.

3. We now come,—for they are placed at a brief, if any, interval of distance from dramatic representations,—to *æsthetical objects*: and here our readers may be surprised, that we should make a separate division of them ; or, perhaps, that we should attend to them at all, while treating of social improvement in connexion with the Church. Of course, we do not pretend that matters relating to the senses and the taste can be kept altogether distinct from intellectual and physical considerations, since the taste and senses stand as it were in the middle, or may be said to form mysterious avenues between that which is physical, and that which is intellectual : neither do we pretend, that the Church has any immediate concern with critical questions that relate to the perceptive faculties of man. Much stress, however, is now laid in particular quarters upon *Schools of Art*, and upon providing galleries and museums for the people at the public expense, in order that a higher kind of amusement may be furnished ; and that improvement and refinement of taste may be generated by the exhibition of the finest models of painting, sculpture, and architecture. Now, we would merely hint, that it will not be wise in churchmen to turn their backs upon these aims and undertakings in negligence or in distaste. They have rather a direct in-

* If this description be true of the regular and more respectable theatres, what can we say of the unlicensed theatres, the cheap theatres, the sixpenny theatres, the penny theatres, which have been planted in various parts of London, but that they are the favourite nests and receptacles of the low vice and debauchery of the metropolis, and the special nurseries of idle, dissolute, and pestilential habits ?

terest in nurturing and furthering all projects which tend to lift society, more and more, out of barbarism, to humanize man, and to detach him, to wean him, if we may so speak, from the gross and animal part of himself. For it has been said often, and with truth, that a taste for that which is beautiful is one great step to a taste for that which is good: and, still more, a taste for that which is good is one great step to a taste for that which is Christian.

4. The same train of remarks is applicable to things more purely *physical*. We trust, therefore, that churchmen will strenuously co-operate, whether with Reformers or with Conservatives, in taking care, that, in the case of large and crowded towns, there shall be left open spaces for recreation, which must conduce, we are sure, to the health of the mind and soul, quite as much as of the body. Our opinion has been already expressed, that unless there be some belts of verdure and freshness round about them, some spots where exercise may be taken, and the influences of nature may be felt, vast cities are indeed vast nuisances; and, in more instances than one, a conflagration has been a blessing. There is no other desert to which an oasis is so needful; and one benefit, we trust, accruing from the introduction of rail-roads and other facilities of locomotion will be, that the population of a country will be more equably distributed, that its habitations will be spread over a larger area, and that the close lanes and alleys of our towns, with all the filth and abominations of every kind which they engender and conceal, will gradually vanish. The theory is at least partly correct, that it is the crimes and passions of men, which have so huddled them together. "Were we," says Dr. Dick, "to inquire into the circumstances which led men thus to immure themselves in gloomy holes and corners, like bats and owls, we should doubtless find that the abominable system of warfare has been one of the chief causes of the evil of which we complain. Man, living at enmity with his fellow-man, judged it expedient to surround his habitations with a huge wall for protection against the inroads of his hostile neighbours; and the problem to be solved, in this case, seems to have been, 'In how small a space can we compress the greatest number of inhabitants, so that our wall and fortifications shall cost us the least trouble and expense?' Small towns and villages which were afterwards built, and which required no fortifications, copied the plan and dimensions of their streets from the fortified towns, and thus the whole of our cities, towns, and villages have been bungled and deranged."

Even here a large field is open for the labours of the Church and Churchmen. They who have visited the poor know what impediments are often placed in the way of their improvement by

the very nature of their abodes. And who is there, that cannot conceive the moral difference which is likely to arise between the labourer in the country, who has his cottage to himself, however poor and humble it may be, and the lowest classes in densely peopled towns, who are so packed and pent together, that several families reside in the same house ; two or three, perhaps, on the same floor ; or a whole family, its males and females intermixed, are confined by night as by day, to one wretched room, where cleanliness is scarcely possible ; and decency, the twin-sister of modesty and virtue, cannot be consulted ? Thus vice and ignorance, turbulence and discontent, seem to cluster and congregate, as by a natural attraction, amidst the congregated masses of the poor : and, yet again, they who visit them are aware, how much the physical evils of their condition may be mitigated, how much even the worst, and apparently the most hopeless circumstances admit of alleviation, by judicious advice in the plain and practical details of social and domestic economy ; as, for instance, the fittest and most nutritious diet, the profitableness and pleasure of temperance, the ventilation of their dwellings, and the change of impure and unwholesome air ; or by recommendations as to the duty and the method of depositing their savings, of putting their children to school, of uniting their several means for the common good as in benefit societies, sick-clubs, and self-supporting dispensaries ;*

* That, which is now called a self-supporting dispensary is an institution between the common dispensary and the sick-club. And this intermediate system may be necessary, as well as excellently useful, during that process of the social transition, while the conjunction of the rich and the poor in the furtherance of the same object may have a hundred benefits for both ; and while the poor, although stretching their half-grown wings, are as yet not quite able to fly alone. But many have said, " let things be called by their right names. This kind of dispensary is at best *demi-self-supporting*. A sale, where the articles are sold to the poor at half-price, is a charity. A dispensary, where a large proportion, perhaps more than half of the current expenses is defrayed by the honorary subscribers, is a charity. And to preach a sermon, or to levy a contribution in behalf of a *self-supporting* dispensary is just as much a practical blunder, not to say an absurdity in terms, as if we were to talk of a self-supporting house, and then ask for a prop or buttress to support it ; or of the globe supported by an elephant, when the support of the elephant itself happens to be the difficulty. Moreover, while we encourage in the poor habits of providence, and the proper pride which will accompany them, it is worse than idle to instil into the poor notions of absolute and complete independence, before they have found means to achieve the reality.

Again, with regard to the present system of (so called) self-supporting dispensaries, there are objections, urged by the medical profession, as to the derangement of fair and regular competition, as to the introduction of young and unskilful practitioners into families almost under false pretences, and as to the fallacy of the whole plan, which appear to us to have some weight. But, on the other hand, we have evidences of actual and practical good, attained in Southam, Coventry, and some other towns, by which these objections may be more than overruled. It is, therefore, far from our intention to dogmatize upon the subject. We believe it to be a question, which will not admit of one general answer applicable to all cases : it is not to be determined by any abstract and inflexible theory, but rather to be regulated according to the diversities of

and to all these matters, these cheap and unostentatious charities, often more useful to their objects than pecuniary gifts, the attention of the Church and Churchmen has been, and may be in a yet greater degree, directed with the most excellent effects. But we might go on for ever : for we might travel into subjects of wide extent and painful interest, such as the situation of children in the factories ; the number of consecutive hours devoted, in many trades and occupations, to unremitting toil and secular slavery, together with the possibility of their curtailment ; the infringements made upon the rest, as upon the holiness of the Sabbath, and, therefore, in the same proportion, upon the comfort as upon the religion of the people ; or such, again, as the general means of preventing crime, the best modes of secondary punishment ; the improvement of discipline in prisons and penitentiaries ; the safest and most effectual methods of abating juvenile profligacy, and, not without connexion with this subject, the right plans of emigration, and the moral and religious improvement of the Colonies ; and in these matters, likewise, every churchman ought to feel some concern, both as a follower of Christ, and as a member of that establishment, which is allied to the state, and ought to be supported by the state for the benefit of the whole community.

Such being the *range* through which the Church should spread its action, we might now, but that our space is already exhausted, inquire into the *instruments* of action, which it has at its disposal, or at least within the reach of its influence. It has a vast, and, we believe, an increasing proportion of the numerical population of the country : it has a still vaster proportion of its property, its respectability, its talent, its intelligence, improved by the highest advantages of education and association : it has a body of clergy, which, from its most elevated grades to its lowest, has never been surpassed : it has great societies of which the energy is such, that it rather requires to be guided than stimulated : through its missions and missionaries it seeks to embrace almost the entire globe in its arms ; and through its individual ministers and pious members, aided by parochial institutions and religious publications, it

time and place, and with reference to the specific circumstances of a neighbourhood. There may be some localities, where only the old charitable dispensary could subsist : there are others, where the dispensary, now called self-supporting, is the model most eligible for immediate purposes, besides having the advantage of combining the exertions of the poor with the liberality of the affluent ; there may be others yet again, where sick-clubs may at once be established on a really independent and self-supporting plan. We approve of all in their proper sphere : in *principle*, perhaps, we approve of the second more than the first, and the third more than the second ; or rather we consider the third sort of institution as the ultimate goal, to which the other two are preparatory or introductory stages ; and to which they ought to be continually tending and struggling by nearer and nearer approximations.

may soon be enabled to penetrate into every cottage, and almost every heart within the circuit of home. Little more, we believe, is required than the generous expansion and judicious combination of these instruments, that so the Church may operate simultaneously in all quarters and directions, and by all the means at its command.

With regard to *principles*, it may be presumption in us to recommend—and it must be irksome to our readers to hear the recommendation yet again—*breadth and comprehensiveness of system without latitudinarianism and laxity*; activity without turbulence, as to its own proceedings; kindness without amalgamation, as to those that are without its pale; and, in general, a humble but steady reliance on itself and its own resources, under the blessing of Almighty God, implored by earnest prayer and strenuous exertion in the name, and for the sake, of Jesus Christ.

We must here, once more, take the opportunity of observing, that a periodical and methodical *Report* of the proceedings of the Church, if not official and by authority, yet under the implied sanction of its heads, is an indispensable preliminary or concomitant to all systematic schemes of improvement in connexion with it. For if we would see, to any practical purposes, what *may be*, and *ought to be*, the first step is to know thoroughly *what is*.

We may venture likewise to say, that all that is to be done in the way of social improvement, may and must be done, as in the spirit of Christian love, so mildly and peaceably, without precipitation and without ostentation. Violence, or intemperance, in such a cause would be madness. And if, in the material world, we have, at rare and terrific intervals, the inundation, and the hurricane, and the earthquake; we must remember that these things come to warn us, how awful is convulsion, even where the end is renovation. Nature, for the most part, leads the earth through its appointed changes from one state to another with a gentle though with a powerful hand. It should be man's aim, so to imitate nature, as to carry forward the great transitions of society by smooth and imperceptible degrees; without strife, without violence, without abruptness.

Another point in which man should strive to imitate the calm, although stupendous movements of nature,—for the laws by which God administers the physical universe are all, if they be rightly interpreted, political and moral and economical lessons to mankind,—is in blending together the whole variety of forces and agencies with their due and harmonious proportions. Partial views and exclusive operations are the most prolific sources of mischief throughout the globe. Every where, and in all, there is some good: and if this axiom be true as to individuals, it is still more

true as to parties. Masses of men, it is undeniable, are sometimes guilty of even worse crimes and worse follies than individuals would dare to perpetrate; because they incur less responsibility; because there is no human power which can judge and punish them, no human jurisdiction which can avenge their misdeeds. But these calamities generally occur in some sudden and epidemic paroxysm of frenzy and delusion. The feeling which impels and pervades multitudes, even if a mistaken, is never, or very seldom, a wicked feeling. Even their fury is an ardour in the course of imagined right; even their cruelty is a kind of perverted justice. The inducements of private interest, which hurry individuals into wrong, cannot in at all the same degree affect whole communities or large bodies of men. Parties never have been, and never can be, bound together by any principle iniquitous in itself. Their leaders may be actuated in their secret hearts by motives the most discreditable, the most abominable, the most atrocious; but they will disguise and varnish them over to their followers with bright and honourable names. If they would entice many to their side, they must gild the baser metals of their characters, and the gold only must be seen. There is no power of union, no attraction of cohesion in vice. If once recognized, it is a thing too essentially hateful to draw and keep even the most wretched faction in the links of fraternity.

We may therefore lay it down as a maxim—and it is a most important one for the regulation both of our theory and our practice—that the watchword, the chief aim, the leading principle, the bond of connection, in any party whatsoever, is something, not merely specious, but at least supposed to be right. When men form a common attachment to a common object, they are attached to a virtue, not a crime; and even while they commit the blindest outrages, they commit them in the behalf and under the banners of some noble end, whether it be truth, or whether it be peace; whether it be liberty, or whether it be order; whether it be the defence of property, or whether it be the acquisition of equal laws. Neither Conservatives nor Reformers, neither Papists nor Protestants, neither Churchmen nor Dissenters, neither enthusiasts nor Utilitarians, are, or can be, associated in struggling for a principle which is inherently and radically bad. Where, then, is their fault? for some, if not all of them, must be in fault. They err not in what they seek, but in what they omit. They take only a part; they fix their eyes so keenly upon some one bright spot of excellence, that they can see nothing else. They utterly neglect the relations, the intermixture, the fitness, and the mutual dependency of things, and that ad-

justment of the balance which can never consist with throwing the entire weight into a single scale. They do not embrace all the several results of their particular measures; they pursue their immediate good without thinking what other good, perhaps far more precious and far more indispensable, must be sacrificed in its attainment. This, in some shape or other, is the almost universal fanaticism of mankind, as soon as they meddle with the absorbing questions of religion and politics: and the misfortune is, that without the clear wide views of a calm unprejudiced understanding, the finest qualities of the heart become, not a check or a safeguard, but actually an aggravation of mischief and danger. Surely these considerations should teach us the lesson of charity, and the lesson also of a combining and comprehensive wisdom. They should teach us, first, to examine what is really fair and true, and just in the views and policy of other men; what good principle—for some good principle there will inevitably be—lies at the root of their system of thought and conduct; and then, if it be possible, to adopt it into our own service, and incorporate it with our own purposes: otherwise we shall but imitate their madness in the opposite extreme. They will be exclusive in one way, and we shall be exclusive in another; and all will be wrong, while all perhaps are meaning and wishing to be right.

We have made these observations, speaking only of Churchmen and to Churchmen; because an established and national Church *is* in theory—and our business is to make it in reality—the Church of the entire nation. While we admire and respect the mighty efforts of others—as of the Wesleyan Methodists, for instance,—in the sacred cause of philanthropy and piety, we are yet bound, as Churchmen, to render our exertions commensurate with the whole work to be done, as if others were doing nothing. We are bound, as Churchmen, to embrace in our thoughts and cares, no less a scope than all the inhabitants of the country, as if the Church, happily for herself and for that country, within her own bosom comprehended them all. If any one, then, should ask on what scale a national Church ought to conduct its operations, the answer should be at once, on a scale which includes all practicable means of action for its instruments, and the whole population of an empire for its objects.

Amidst the din of parties and the whirlwind of present strife, it has been a refreshment to our minds to dwell upon subjects, in which faction has no concern, which are of permanent, universal, imperishable interest, and which can encourage us to look onward with comfortable hopes to the futurity of a land. And yet the views which we have sketched have some bearing upon politics, and may point to a particular line of political conduct.

Their warning to churchmen is, "*if it be possible*, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Do not make religious and social ameliorations impossible by the raised tempest of political convulsions. We do not say, "compromise, or temporise;" but we do say, "do not precipitate measures which may cause instant and irreconcilable strife: do nothing, if it be possible, which can produce a violent concussion: *gain time*: pursue a plan of social improvement, connected as a whole, and carefully elaborated in its details: educate the people: labour in every way *for* the people and *among* the people: be firm and yet courteous, be conciliatory and yet stedfast:—and by God's blessing, five years, if you can secure five years, may work a now incredible difference in Great Britain and even in Ireland: and the Church, enthroned in the popular affections, may be almost enabled to dictate her own terms even to her enemies."

At all events, and happen politically what may, the objects and the means of social improvement demand our most watchful attention. Let us not deceive ourselves. The republican and theoretical politicians of the day look to all these things. The centralizers of education, who would make the State all, and the Church nothing, look to all these things. The men, who consider themselves Theists and Philanthropists, of "the genuine Theophilanthropic sect," look to all these things. The enthusiastic Atheists, like Mr. Owen, look to all these things. More especially, the Utilitarians, who would work out, on their own principles, honestly though insufficiently, their favourite problem of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, look to all these things. Their views, as far as earthly objects are concerned, are wide and vast, and in many respects enlightened; deplorably deficient, indeed, in height and depth; but certainly not wanting in extent. It is proposed, too, that they should be carried forward by combinations of imposing magnitude, and by engines of mighty power;—even by all the devices of knowledge, and by all the power of the State.

Churchmen, therefore, and most especially the clergy, must on their side be alert. If its operations are not impeded, threatened, and marred, the Church may effect more than the State, whether by its legislative or its executive powers: and we certainly see in the clergy of a land the great agents, under God, of beneficial changes, the chief ministers, by his blessing, of temporal as of eternal happiness to their fellow-creatures. And after all, and notwithstanding all that we have said, it is in their *direct* efforts as preachers and pastors that we see the noblest viaducts and instruments of good; while other modes, viewed as subsidiary and collateral, are surely not to be neglected.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

THE matters of public interest, in which, during the last quarter, the Church and Churchmen have been most concerned, are, as we think, *the Church-Commission question, the Church-rate question, the question of Municipal Corporations for Ireland, the question of Poor Laws for Ireland, and the question of Popular Education in Ireland.* Our observations will be very brief; not because we underrate the importance of the things at issue; but because the newspapers and other publications, put forth at smaller intervals than ours, have anticipated a great part of what we had to say; not unfrequently tempting us to exclaim—

“Pereant isti, qui ante nos nostra dixerunt.”

THE CHURCH-COMMISSION QUESTION. On this subject it is painful to speak at all. With the criminatory portion of it we will have nothing to do;—with the wretched accusations and retorts of *nepotism here, and nepotism there*, which can only afford a triumph to the enemy without. We believe that both sides have been actuated by pure and Christian motives. As to the Commission, we are convinced that the Clerical Commissioners at least have had the strength and the welfare, the stability and the security, of the Church of England most deeply at heart. We put away from us all the charges of episcopal rapacity and personal ambition. In the Cathedral bodies, again, we can discern views and feelings far higher, nobler, and more comprehensive than any which move in the narrow orbit of self-interest: and the numerous memorials of the Chapters have been characterised, perhaps without a single exception, by great ability as statements, and great moderation as remonstrances. That departures have been made both from the *right* and from the *expedient*; that some recommendations of the Commissioners may tend to unsettle the property and impair the dignity of the Church, and even to lessen its value as a spiritual instructor, by drying up the chief fountains of a deep and learned theology; that the Episcopate may be exposed to serious damage, by being left, in some future hour of difficulty, without an adequate staff or support; that there is the danger, too, of ultimately centralizing in the metropolis the whole power and jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Establishment;—these, with many others, are grave and broad objections, which have been urged, not without an appearance of validity. On the other hand, a vast good may be done by effecting a more equal distribution and a more complete circulation of the ministrations of the Church throughout the country; and even by showing, in a practical demonstration, that the Church is not afraid to reform itself, is not unwilling to look into its alleged abuses and corruptions; but is most anxious, on the contrary, to extend its benefits over the largest possible range of territory and population. We shall not,

then, pretend to censure the establishment of the Commission : but we do from our hearts deprecate its perpetuity : as a *virtual government, by a standing Commission, composed half of Clergy and half of Laity, would indeed be an anomaly and a canker in an Episcopal Church.* From the recent collision, however, which has taken place between the Bishops in the Commission and the Ministers of the Crown, we suspect that the whole matter will soon assume quite another aspect, and render any remarks, which we might now venture to make, altogether irrelevant. They who wish for information on this important and delicate matter, will do well to consult Mr. Benson's eloquent letter to the Bishop of Lincoln ; Dr. Wordsworth's "*Letter to a Friend, the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the Universities,*" pregnant with facts, cogent in argument, earnest in diction ; and, moreover, for their amusement at least, the popular and facetious pamphlet of Mr. Sidney Smith ; although here the *animus* is too plain, and we may perceive, if merely by comparing the first and second editions, that the chief effort of the writer has been not to strengthen his argument, but to add pungency to his sarcasms.

THE CHURCH-RATE QUESTION. The subject of Church-rates is exhausted, after calling forth great and diversified talent on the conservative side, both in the parliamentary speeches, and in the labours of the press, among which the small and cheap tracts of Mr. Molesworth ought not to be overlooked. The facts and the principles really lie in so small a compass, that the minds of our readers must be already satisfied ; and they would hardly thank us for renewing the discussion. The scheme of Mr. Spring Rice for taking certain estates of the Church into the hands of Commissioners—for putting them under a new kind of arrangement, by an interference between the lessor and the lessee, without the consent of either ; for so extracting from them an augmentation of revenue, which augmentation, at some unexplained stage of the process or transition, was to become the property of the State ; and for meddling with *Pew-rents*—this precious scheme burst almost in the telling. That the plan, in all its leading features, had been examined by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and been found impracticable ; that it could not realize the expectation of its framers ; or, if it could be carried into effect, that it would reduce the Prelates to the mere condition of stipendiaries or annuitants ; that the increase of revenue was not certain of attainment, or, if it could be obtained, ought not to be applied in the manner proposed ; for that the Church had a right, in all cases, to the full value of its own property, and therefore that, if a better arrangement could be devised, the Church ought to have the advantage of it ; and that the crying exigencies of the Church now peculiarly demanded every possible augmentation of its resources ;—these answers were given, and appear to have been themselves unanswerable. At an early period of the business the Bishops took a decided part, and have most materially helped the now certain overthrow of the ministerial measure. The spirited reply inflicted by the Bishop of London upon Lord Melbourne, will be long remembered, both for its pungent truth, and for the striking and original turn of its eloquence, reminding us, more perhaps than any speech of recent times, of the Greek and Roman style of oratory. But for a calm, brief, im-

pressive, and persuasive view of the matter in debate, we cannot do better than put on record the observations of the Archbishop of Canterbury in a form of publication somewhat less fugitive than the newspapers. His Grace said, "He had to present to their lordships a considerable number of petitions on the subject of Church-rates, the prayer of which was precisely the same as was contained in the petitions already presented by the right reverend Prelates who had preceded him in the course of the evening. Although it was not his habit to address their lordships on the presentation of petitions, still he trusted, considering the general feeling of anxiety which prevailed on the subject, that he would be permitted to claim their lordships' attention for a short time. In consequence of the number of petitions against Church-rates which had been laid on the table, as well as from the meetings that had taken place in different parts of the kingdom, it was supposed by many that the country in general was hostile to the continuance of those rates. But if they looked to the mass of petitions which had been presented on the other side, strongly deprecating any improper interference with those rates, they would be justified in coming to a very different conclusion. Petitions from agricultural districts had been placed in his hands, in which the petitioners 'denied that Church-rates were unpopular among them.' They said they 'could not bear the idea of the sacred buildings devoted to religious worship being left to ruin and dilapidation, which they feared would be the case if Church-rates were abolished;' and such he believed to be the general feeling throughout the country. The objection to Church-rates had been almost entirely confined to Dissenters, and particularly to certain populous districts: and those who thus opposed them had almost declared in terms that they had ulterior objects in view. It was proper, then, that all those who had the welfare of the Church at heart should be upon their guard. They had been told that the measure about to be introduced to the House of Commons would be satisfactory to all parties. He wished it were indeed so. He should be pleased with any measure that was at all likely to be satisfactory to all parties. In that case he would not have troubled their lordships with the presentation of these petitions, without first ascertaining from the parties by whom they were signed, whether they still were anxious that they should be presented. But when he looked to the plan brought forward in the House of Commons, he could not bring himself to think that it would be satisfactory to those petitioners. He felt astonished how any person could consider that the plan would be satisfactory to the friends of the Church. The principle of the bill and its whole outline were so unkind to the Church, the measure seemed to be so pregnant with mischief in its consequences, that he certainly never would give his assent to its becoming law. It took property from the Church which had belonged to it from time immemorial, and appropriated it to purposes which hitherto had been otherwise provided for. Who complained of those rates? Certainly not those out of whose pockets they chiefly came. Were the great possessors of property those who complained of the burden of Church-rates? No. They would be ashamed to complain of an impost which was laid upon them for the maintenance of the Church of the country, for the maintenance of religion, and, he might say, for the preservation of the morals of the lower orders. The

measure to which he had alluded was intended for the relief and satisfaction of the Dissenters, who professed that they could not pay those rates upon principle. Because it was a contribution to the maintenance of the Established Church, they objected to it; but their only principle was to get that property relieved from the payment of Church-rates, which they had bought subject to those rates. Now, if the Church had funds at its disposal, why should they not be laid out in providing church-room and pastoral instruction for that large body of members of the establishment who were, at the present moment, deprived of the means of religious instruction? Statements had been made, founded on truth and not on speculation, that there were thousands of people, nay, he might say hundreds of thousands, in that situation. There were nearly 2,000,000 of persons in various parts of the country who were at present almost destitute of religious instruction in consequence of the want of accommodation in the Churches. In the neighbourhood of the metropolis there was a district with a population of 160,000 souls, and only thirteen clergymen; and in Lancashire, Cheshire, and other places the deficiency was still greater. And yet, with these facts staring them in the face, they were called on to remove a tax, the pressure of which was hardly felt by any party, and to shift it to property which was never intended to bear it. When the wants of the Church population of the country were so pressing, it would in his opinion be most unjust and impolitic to apply any surplus of the Church property otherwise than to the spiritual wants of members of the Established Religion. Such, however, was the nature of the plan proposed. A mode of raising money on Church property was to be resorted to, not to provide spiritual instruction for members of the Church, but to relieve those who dissented from the Church. If other plans were rejected, as being objectionable on various grounds, what were they to say to the plan now proposed? It contemplated nothing more nor less than the sequestration of the estates belonging to the dignitaries of the Church—the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters. Those estates were to be placed under the management of a Board of Commissioners, invested with full powers for granting leases, for selling reversions, for mortgaging or alienating Church property, as they might think advisable. Now, he would ask, was any noble lord so blind as not to see that the effect of the plan would be to make the dignitaries of the Church (using the mildest term) mere annuitants, to deprive them of all the influence and advantages which were annexed to the possession of land, and to render them dependent on a Board of Commissioners nominated by the government? Why, considering the very violent changes that had taken place at different times, a conjuncture of affairs might arise, in which the whole of this Church property might be swept away, in the process of amendment. He believed that he had said enough to show the injustice of the scheme that was proposed, its degrading effects on the dignitaries of the Church, and the danger with which it menaced the interests of the Church itself. Objections without end could be urged against the measure; but, as many of them were matters of detail, although involving principles of importance, he would not enter into them on this occasion. He was, however, obliged to come forward, not only in obe-

dience to his own feelings on the subject, but because he had been authorized to express the sentiments of others. A meeting of Bishops had been held that morning, at which they assembled to the number of fifteen (being nearly all the Prelates who were in town), and he had been authorized by them to declare their unanimous concurrence in the sentiments which he had expressed, and their determination to resist the proposed measure by all proper and just means. There was another consideration which impelled him to come forward—it was, that the names of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and of the Bishop of Llandaff, as dean of St. Paul's, were placed in the list of Commissioners for the management of those estates, and the disposal of Church property. Now a notion had, in consequence, gone abroad, that they were privy to the plan, and that it had met with their approbation and concurrence. That, however, was not the case. He mentioned this to obviate the notion which had gone abroad amongst the clergy, and which had excited a great deal of alarm, that they were privy to the plan, and approved of it, and he took that opportunity to relieve himself and his reverend friends from the imputation."

It appears to us necessary to add, that the present *mode of levying church-rates* was discountenanced and disapproved by all parties in the House of Commons, as tending to perpetual collision, irritation, and discord between Churchmen and Dissenters; and, therefore, that whatever individual opinion may be, the strong tide of circumstances will enforce its abandonment, and *some substitution* must be made. *This* would sap the foundations of a national Church.

IRISH MUNICIPAL QUESTION. It is with us a source of regret that the Church has been so entirely mixed up with this question, and put so very much in the front of the battle. Not that we doubt the intentions of the Irish agitators; not that we disbelieve that the corporations, if obtained on the basis which is demanded, may be employed as mighty instruments to the prejudice of the Church; but that there lies a manifest detriment, as the division in the House of Commons has proved, in the merest semblance of keeping up or re-imposing *civil* disabilities for the furtherance of *ecclesiastical* purposes, and determining *one* part of our imperial polity simply by its possible or probable consequences on *another*. This advantage, we see, has been taken by almost all the speakers in favour of the measure; either openly exulting, or pretending to deplore, that the Irish Church had placed itself in the light of an obstruction to political amelioration. Lord John Russell asked, "might not the refusal of municipal privileges to the same six millions, on the distinctly avowed ground of danger to the Church, be more unsafe than giving them these privileges? Was it not making the Church an object of hatred and hostility thus to point her out as an active foe?" Lord Howick said that "the member for Liskeard had not disguised or concealed his horror of the Irish Church establishment—nay, he admitted that he was its open enemy; *he rejoiced that by refusing municipal corporations to the Irish people, they would throw on the Irish Protestant Church establishment the additional odium and unpopularity of being the obstacle to the enjoyment of political rights.*"—On the whole, we see mischief and embarrassment on either side; but we trust to

the wisdom of the House of Lords for finding some way out of the perplexity, without an absolute denial of Municipal Corporations to Ireland, if England and Scotland are to be in possession of them. The circumstances of the countries are, it is true, dissimilar; and the argument may be abstractedly good, that legislation ought not to be identical under dissimilar circumstances; but the cry of *justice to Ireland* will, perhaps, drown these abstractions; and disturbers will assuredly point to the palpable distinction as being, and meant to be, a badge of inferiority and a brand of ignominy. By the way, if we may quote once more from the speeches of our representatives, few things, during this session of Parliament, have been in a higher and truer style of eloquence than the beautiful peroration of Sir J. Graham's speech, on this exciting subject of justice to Ireland. "What," he said, "was the demand? Justice for Ireland. So also did they on the opposition side contend for justice to Ireland. Justice to the judges of Ireland, whose feelings were outraged—whose opinions were insulted—whose sentences were reversed by the lieutenant of the king; justice to the magistracy of Ireland, whose authority was degraded by the fact, hardly denied, that turbulent violators of the law were placed in the commission of the peace side by side with its accredited guardians and defenders—justice to the Protestant Clergy of Ireland, whose legal rights were overborne by open violence, whose property was despoiled with impunity, whose lives were attacked in open day, and from whom the protection of the king's government seemed almost to be withdrawn in the face of the tyrannous hatred of a persecuting majority—justice to the freeholders of Ireland, who were overawed in the exercise of the elective franchise by the daring, daily, constant interference of those priests who, according to the creed of the multitude in that country, held in their hands the keys of heaven and of hell, and brought to bear the hopes and fears of another world on the passing struggles of this—justice to the entire people of Ireland, by vindicating the majesty and supremacy of the law with unflinching impartiality and manly boldness, whereby they might hope life would become more secure, and the rights of property more respected in that unhappy country. Those were his demands, and the demands of those with whom he had the honour to act, of justice to Ireland."

IRISH POOR LAW QUESTION.—The scheme for a poor law in Ireland, introduced by Lord John Russell, is framed, as to all its main features, in conformity with the *Report* furnished by Mr. Nicholls, one of the Poor Law Commissioners for England, and a man, we believe, as distinguished for humanity, temper, and kindness of heart, as for large experience and remarkable sagacity. The report itself may be called a master-piece of its kind. Clear, and yet profound, comprehensive, and yet practical; it unfolds the diseases of Ireland and the remedies, in a style calm, plain, perspicuous, and excellently adapted to the subject-matter. We wait for the Report of the committee, which is now sitting, before we speak, as we could wish, on the English system of poor laws, and offer our opinion on *many* admirable and, as we may venture to think, *some* objectionable points, whether of principle or detail. But a poor law of some kind seems alto-

gether indispensable to the prosperity and even the safety of Ireland; unless that unhappy land is to be a prey to idle and improvident habits, overrun and eaten up by a vagrant and "marauding" mendicancy. But we are quite incompetent to judge whether all the present recommendations can be carried into effect; whether the system can be at first applied partially and in certain localities, or must be diffused over the whole country at once; and whether, in fact, the Irish peasantry, not, perhaps, unused to turbulence and license, can be made to endure the irksome confinement of the workhouses; when that confinement must be rendered the more irksome, because the workhouses are to be tests of destitution, while a scale of diet, lower than the ordinary food of the poorest cottages, cannot be attempted. It is a satisfaction to think that the good may be proportionate; but of course extraordinary difficulties must be encountered in the midst of circumstances thus graphically described by Mr. Nicholls. "Ireland is suffering under a circle of evils producing and re-producing one another. Want of capital produces want of employment—want of employment, turbulence and misery—turbulence and misery, insecurity—insecurity prevents the introduction or accumulation of capital—and so on."

Our chief business, however, with the Report, and the plan founded on it, is with the recommendation that there should be boards of guardians in Ireland, but that no clergymen of any denomination should be admissible as members. Mr. Nicholls quite acknowledges "that the duties of the clergy lead them to mix more with the people and to see more of their actual misery than any other class in Ireland;" but he proposes their exclusion on account of the strife and irritation which might otherwise arise. His proposition, too, seems to have met with almost universal favour;—from Lord Stanley, for example, and from Lord Francis Egerton, as well as from Lord John Russell. We might ourselves wish that *incumbents of parishes*, both in England and Ireland, should be guardians *ex officio*; but Mr. Nicholls looks "with an equal eye" on all, and sees no distinction between the regular incumbent, and the Romish priest, or the dissenting minister. It does not appear to enter his mind, that to exclude from all direct management of the poor the Clergymen of the Established Church is at all more than to exclude an ordained or licensed preacher of any other denomination. But the constitution surely recognizes a difference: and, perhaps, all just theory must make a difference, as long as a national Establishment exists, and is held responsible for the morality and religion of the people. We might say, if we wished to speak invidious things, "the grocer or the grazier may be a guardian, but the Minister of the Gospel is ineligible: the tithe-proctor may sit at the board, but the pastor of the church is under a legal incapacity: a '*workman*,' as Mr. Wakley wishes, may be a member of parliament, but a clergyman may not be a member of the board of guardians." But this is really not our object: and, for our own parts, we should regret to see clergymen ever *canvassing* for the office; and perhaps should often advise them rather to stand aloof, and act as mediators between the guardians and the poor. Still it is one thing voluntarily to keep back, and quite another to be put under an absolute disqualification. The latter is a kind of stigma; and the question arises, is it deserved, is it neces-

sary? The opinion, as we have seen, of honourable men of entirely different parties is, that the exigency of the case requires it, that the state of Ireland will not allow so close an approximation of the various teachers of the religion of peace. *Laymen* of different communions may act in harmony together; but the *clergy* cannot sit at the same table, and debate questions of social economy for the good of the poor without injurious bickerings and indecent disputes. This, if it be fact, is indeed lamentable. The violence of Popish priests we cannot restrain; but we do trust, that the pastors belonging to the Establishment will, by their quiet activity and their gentle firmness, absolve themselves from all share in the blame.

IRISH EDUCATION QUESTION.—Here is another theme of fruitful discussion, in which we think it safest to wait for the result of the Parliamentary Committee. We might call it one of the fatalities of Ireland, that even the subject of education cannot be touched without stirring up the bitterest and almost foulest waters of wrath and controversy: but *Irish Education is intimately connected with the Irish Church*. Our readers will do us the justice to bear in mind, that, in our articles on Education by the State, we have always considered the question as one to be, in part at least, determined by local circumstances, and not capable of any one rigid and universal solution. It is the madness of *obstructive*, who are sometimes scarcely less dangerous than *destructive*, politicians, to deny, practically, if not in words, that there is to be any flexibility in the conduct of human affairs, any adaptation to circumstances of time and place. Our theory has been, that the State is not indeed, by virtue of its office, to take the whole matter into its hands; but rather to supply deficiencies where they exist, and do what individuals and societies could not accomplish. We are far, therefore, from saying that the government ought not to interfere at all towards educating the people of Ireland; whether by grants of money or by something of general superintendence, although with many of the minutiae, and some of the elements of the present scheme, we cannot conscientiously concur. Would to God that there could be a really good system of education, by whomsoever introduced and managed, pervading the whole poorer population! In conjunction with a good system of Poor Laws, with a fostering care of the people, with the encouragement of the introduction of capital, and thus of regular sources of constant employment,—and also, perhaps, with well considered schemes of emigration, and the undertaking of public works, what an unspeakable blessing it would be! But, alas, amidst the strife of sects and factions, what hope is there of the tranquil amelioration of the sister country! And even as we look around us in England, where do we see the solid and wide materials of a government which shall be strong, and, being strong, shall afford to be conciliatory? Our own humble voice is still, as it has been, for honest coalition both in State-parties and Church-parties. Nothing else can give us a strong and efficient government: nothing else can calm and save the country. And in fact, amidst the process of new combinations, it is becoming plainly absurd to stand upon the old names, which are no longer the representatives of

any realities. The Tories are gone : the Whigs are going, and almost gone. The very appellations will soon be matters of history, but no longer terms of party distinction. Why, then, do we talk? Coalitions have actually begun. The Whigs, for instance, are parting asunder, partly from the pressure of surrounding circumstances, and partly from the solvents of internal disagreement. Some of them are leaguings themselves with the Radical Reformers; and here is one coalition : others of them, again, with the moderate Conservatives; and here is another coalition. *The cast, too, of Church-parties is quite altered.*

THE NEW ACTS FOR THE REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES are not to come into operation until the 1st July. There are many who wish that this postponement might lead to a re-consideration of some parts, if not the whole, from the belief that they tend, together with other causes, to impair the just authority of the Church, and unparochialize the institutions of the country.

LORD GODOLPHIN'S BILL, which proposes that notices, not of a directly ecclesiastical or spiritual nature, should be affixed to the outside of the Church, instead of being read within it, will experience, we conceive, no opposition from the bench of Bishops, at least as to its principle. Such notices, read as some parish clerks, even in this enlightened age, are accustomed to read them, certainly do not conduce much to the edification or the devotion of a congregation assembled to pray; and sometimes almost sound as a desecration of the House of God.

We have here only touched upon the external and political phases of the Established Church, and the legislation which affects it; but we believe that there are few points, bearing at the present moment on the internal interests of the Church and the principles of Church Societies, which have not received some notice in the foregoing pages of this number of our Review. The Church in Colonies we reserve for a more extended survey.

GENERAL LITERATURE—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

In our notice of books we shall begin, as usual, by mentioning such as we keep back for future and more strict examination. Among them we may specify the third volume of Dr. Russell's truly valuable work, *The Connexion of Sacred and Profane History; The New Covenant, and Exposition of the New Covenant*, by Granville Penn, to which we have already alluded; *Histories of England*, either general or partial, by Mr. Hughes, Mr. Gleig, and several others; the *Life and Persecutions of Martin Boos, an Evangelical Preacher of the Romish Church*; and, if possible, *Thoughts on Past Times, by the Duke of Newcastle*; and two or three productions of a psychological character, such as *The Regeneration of Metaphysics, The Whole Doctrine of Final Causes, by Mr. Irons*; and *The Essay on Natural Religion and Revelation, considered*

with regard to the Legitimate Use and proper Limitation of Reason, by the Rev. J. Gilderdale.

HERMENEUTICAL WORKS.

Rabbi David Kimchi's Commentary upon the Prophecies of Zechariah. Translated from the Hebrew. With Notes, and Observations on the Passages relating to the Messiah. By the Rev. A. M'Caul, A.M., of Trinity College, Dublin.

MR. M'CAUL, and no man was more competent, has here given us an excellent translation of a very curious treatise. Nay, he has done more; for, besides giving us the translation, he has interspersed "*Notes*" and "*Observations*" on the several chapters, of great use and value. As Hebrew literature will come in our next number more regularly before us, and as it is for this reason that we now pass over *Walford's New Translation of the Psalms*, we shall not at present enter upon the Commentary itself: but the account furnished of Kimchi and the Jewish writers, in the introduction, cannot fail, we think, to be interesting to our readers:—

"Rabbi David Kimchi, commonly called by the Jews, from the three initial letters ק"ד RaDaK, was probably born at Narbonne, where his father lived."* But whether born there or not, "he flourished about the time of the third Crusade, A.D. 1190, and lived through the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Whilst the laity of Christendom were engaged in the attempt to recover the Holy City, and the divines in perfecting and systematizing the Christian oral law, or Popish Rabbinism, Kimchi, and other distinguished rabbies of the day, were zealously and laboriously employed in the grammatical study of the Old Testament, and in the improvement of biblical interpretation. Their countrymen were accustomed then, as now, wherever the Talmud is much studied, to follow the Talmudic method of interpretation, and to pay but little attention either to context or grammar, of which, from the method of instruction pursued in Rabbinical schools, they do not so readily perceive the necessity or the value. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Kimchi or his cotemporaries had discovered the simple and rational method of exposition, or that the Jews, in the long interval between the dispersion and the Crusades, were either ignorant or destitute of the grammatical principle. They carried with them from their country Onkelos's Chaldee translation of the Pentateuch, as a model of literal interpretation; and the labours of Jonathan, about two centuries after the dispersion, testify that they knew how to profit by it. The Masora furnishes another instance of a diligent and accurate grammatical study of the text. 'It is evident,' says Gesenius, 'that its authors were guided by fixed grammatical principles, which, though never collected into one whole, they had deduced for themselves, and according to which they conformed the text, and endeavoured

* Jost (in his *Geschichte der Israeliten*, vol. vi. p. 104) says unhesitatingly that he was born there, but the only authority which he gives is that of Wolfius, who does not speak so positively.

to remove its irregularities and supposed errors. In doing so, they manifest a great accuracy of study."

We are afterwards told that, "diligently using the labours of his predecessors, and possessing no ordinary resources of his own, he has, besides a grammar and lexicon, left a commentary on most of the books of Scripture, which, though written six hundred years ago, will bear a comparison with any that has appeared even in the nineteenth century. Valuable in itself, it has other points of attraction for the Christian student. It is the work of one to whom the Christian world has been much indebted; for his grammar and lexicon have, until very lately, contributed the main portion of all similar productions, and his commentary has been one of the sources from which commentators, since the Reformation, have drawn most valuable materials. What Gesenius says generally of the Jewish commentators is particularly true of Kimchi. 'The judicious commentator will know how to use much in them that is indisputably true and good; and a facility in understanding these sources is indispensably necessary to every respectable interpreter.' To the reader of the English bible, Kimchi is also of value, as he will find the translations generally confirmed, and see how very little that rabbi would have altered. Indeed, a comparison with the rabbies would show that our translators were deeply read in, and diligent in consulting the best Jewish authorities, and would go far towards proving that we have great reason to be satisfied with, and thankful for, our English translation. To the student of divinity, Kimchi and his cotemporaries are of great importance, inasmuch as they may be regarded as the founders of a new school in Jewish theology. The violent persecutions of the Crusaders, the jealousy excited by the Christian attempt upon the Holy Land, and the influence of the doctrine of the Mahometans, amongst whom they lived, produced a sensible change in Jewish opinions and interpretations, which is plainly marked in Kimchi, and other writers of the day, and without a knowledge of which, the phenomena of modern Judaism cannot be fully understood. Rashi, Aben Ezra, and Kimchi, endeavoured to get rid of the Christian interpretations, and Maimonides to root out the Christian doctrines which had descended from the ancient Jewish Church. The writings of the commentators passed without notice, but Maimonides' attack on Jewish doctrines drew down the sentence of excommunication, and led to a serious feud, in which Kimchi appeared as the friend of Maimonides, and endeavoured to make peace. In the course of time, however, the opinions of all gained ground, and have now an almost universal influence on Jewish habits of thought, which makes a knowledge of their writings desirable.

"A specimen of Kimchi's Commentary is now presented to the public, as a small contribution towards this object. It is hoped that even this may be useful, not only in exhibiting Jewish interpretation, but in helping Christians to form a more correct estimate of the Jewish mind. The controversialist is compelled to attack that which is erroneous, or even absurd in the oral law, and the ignorant or unthinking hastily conclude that all the Jewish writings are of the same character. The translation of Kimchi or Aben Ezra would speedily undeceive the world. In the mean while it is hoped that the patient reader of even this speci-

men, will rise with a different idea of Jewish talent and learning. It may also facilitate the study of Rabbinical literature to some who have commenced, and induce others to begin. The controversy with the Jews is an important branch of Christian divinity, which is comparatively overlooked, and cannot be effectually cultivated without some knowledge of the rabbies. It was principally for the conversion of the Jews, that the oriental professorships were determined on at the Council of Vienna, in 1311, and it is to be hoped that those who appreciate the value of Christianity now, will also remember that this is one use of knowing the original language of the Old Testament. To those whose other avocations do not permit them to study Rabbinical writers this translation may prove useful, especially as constant regard has been had to the Jewish controversies, and the chief passages relating to the Messiah have been considered, somewhat at length, in observations appended to the chapters in which they occur."

SERMONS, &c.

Sermons to a Country Congregation. By Augustus William Hare, A.M., late Fellow of New College, and Rector of Alton, Barnes. Hatchard.

THESE sermons are of that kind which is so peculiarly useful in rural parishes, but of which, nevertheless, so few are to be found. They are easy of comprehension, without a wretched superficiality; they are plain and simple, without a jejune barrenness; they are homely and affectionate, without a nauseous familiarity. The poorest and most unlettered hearer might understand and feel them; and yet they are full of deep reflection and spiritual wisdom. The lamented author is no more. And we could have wished that either his excellent brother, or some other friend, had given us a brief memoir of a man whose abilities and attainments were known to be eminent, and of whose practical piety the present volumes are a convincing, and will be, we trust, a lasting testimony.

The last two sermons in the collection are visitation sermons, addressed to a different kind of audience, and written in a more sustained, classical, and elevated style than the rest. If any one, therefore, should, in any other of the discourses, occasionally meet with comparisons, illustrations, images, and expressions, which somewhat offend and startle his refined and fastidious taste, he may learn, from these two at the conclusion, that Mr. Hare employed them neither from want of ability nor from want of care, but from a sincere and conscientious wish to adapt his compositions to his hearers.

Parish Sermons of Bishop Heber. In 3 vols. Murray.

For the preparation of these Sermons for the press, the Churchmen of the country owe a new debt of gratitude to Sir Robert Inglis. From their late appearance, however, we have scarcely had time to read them, and therefore, we shall not enter upon their merits now. The subject of *Parochial Preaching* is a pressing and important one, which demands at our hands a distinct and methodical

consideration. And what volumes can be more fit to introduce it than these of Bishop Heber and Mr. Hare? We shall, therefore, in all probability, return to them in our next number. The mere announcement of three additional volumes of Sermons by Bishop Heber will ensure a large circulation in the mean time.

Discourses on the Beatitudes. By the Rev. Robert Anderson. Hatchard and Son. DISCOURSES, which do us good; which are eloquent in their deep and fervent simplicity; which spring from Christian feelings, and which inspire them.

Advent Lectures. By the Rev. W. Dodsworth. James Burns, Portman Street.

THESE lectures, like the author's previous publications, are distinguished by piety, research, and considerable neatness of expression. Candour compels us to add, that they are also distinguished by something of *peculiarity*, something of fancifulness, and something of mysticism. For our own parts, we cannot but wish that Mr. Dodsworth had employed himself upon a subject more practical and less enveloped in mysterious and uncertain speculation, than the *circumstances* and the *time* of our Lord's Second Coming. Some of his remarks, as our readers will perceive, *sound* like a discouragement to Christian *activity*. What we really want is a due mixture of *action* and *contemplation*.

"Now, the question which I wish to propose solemnly, and in the sight of God, to every man amongst us who reverences God's holy word, and who desires to have his faith and hope conformed thereto, is this,—WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE APOSTLES' EXPECTATIONS AND THOSE WHICH CHRISTIANS IN GENERAL INDULGE AT THIS DAY? Is it not a matter of fact, that when the generality of Christians now look forward to the limits of their present existence, they think of it as bounded by death, and not by the Lord's coming? Is it not a matter of fact, that even those who give attention to the subject of the second advent, often feel a kind of impression that this event is yet distant, and that, in all probability, their own death will intervene; in a word, that there is not the real practical influential expectation, that this glorious event of the Lord's coming will take place within our own time? What is the reason of this? Have we grown wiser than the Apostles? Are we better than they? Are we better informed than they?"—pp. 48, 49.

"Another reason for loving his appearing, is to be found in the fact, that it shall usher in the reign of perfect righteousness and peace. Others may look for this from the operation of moral causes, from a millennium brought in by the diffusion of Christian principles, and by schemes of education. And if the Christian faith, or the word of God, furnished any authority for this expectation, it would be a reason why they should love such a millennium, and why both their thoughts and exertions should be directed towards it. But we look for this result from the appearing of Jesus Christ, and therefore we love his appearing."—p. 34.

"I believe this inconsistency arises very much from the neglect of the scriptural hope of the Lord's coming. Losing sight of this as the event which

is to bring in the great reformation of all things, men, well-intentioned perhaps, have been ready to adopt any means which seem to promise that great consummation for which all creation groans, but which shall not be brought in until the revelation of our Lord. Carried away with the thought of enlightening the world by extending systems of education, and thus, by their own efforts, bringing in a millennium of moral and religious influence, they have substituted their own methods of acting in the place of those which God has appointed. Hence have arisen many of our divisions in the Church; and hence those of whom one might have hoped better things, have been drawn in to unite and act with others, who, under the pretext of reforming abuses, would overthrow all things established, in pursuit of a Utopian state of perfection.

“The remedy for all this is the blessed hope of the appearing of Jesus Christ, the great Head of the family of man—the Head of all power and authority, and to whom an account must be rendered of the exercise of all trusts derived from him.”—pp. 68, 69.

“An opinion is entertained by some, that it is an honour designed for the preaching of the Gospel, and the diffusion of Christian knowledge, to bring in this glorious consummation. It is supposed that the Gospel-trumpet shall sound from land to land, till it awakens all the tribes of men from their dead sleep of sin, and enlists them under the banner of the cross. It is supposed that the Christian missionary may go forth conquering and to conquer, with no other weapon than the Gospel of Jesus Christ, summoning all nations to the obedience of the faith; and that however, for a time, he may be opposed or beat down, all the whole race of man will ultimately obey the summons, and submit to the sway of King Messiah. The world has been compared, under this aspect, to a vast waste which has to be brought into cultivation; and the Christian missionaries have been compared to settlers, fixing themselves here and there in the wide field before them, gradually enlarging the boundaries of their little cultivated spots, until those boundaries meet, and the whole becomes like one fair garden, bearing precious fruit unto God. And then shall follow a long season of peace and blessedness, under the universal and benign influence of Christianity. This whole scheme, however, beautiful as it appears, and cheering as is the prospect which it holds up to the Christian, must be pronounced as nothing better than a splendid romance. IT WILL NOT BEAR THE TEST OF SCRIPTURE; and it is from Scripture alone that any knowledge on this subject can be obtained. It would occupy a whole discourse, and more, to show fully the discrepancy between the expectations which I have noticed, and the testimony of Scripture.”—pp. 133, 134.

Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Henry Mortlock. By the Rev. Joseph Sortain. Taylor, Brighton. Simpkin, Marshall and Co. London.

A WORTHY tribute to an excellent man:—a discourse both argumentative and pathetic; distinguished by eloquence of no common order, by great force and richness of language, by peculiar depth and tenderness of feeling. Mr. Sortain,

we believe, does not exactly belong to our communion, though his present sermon is in commendation of one of its ministers; but he belongs to those seceders, who, even while they dissent in secondary matters, can understand and appreciate the claims of the Church of England upon their respect and reverence. As a man of rare talents and piety, we could wish that Mr. Sortain was of our body: but, as standing between the Church and her worst enemies, the virulent political Dissenters, we can almost think that he may be doing as much good where he is.

Testimonies of Heathen and Christian Writers of the First Two Centuries to the Truth and Power of the Gospel. By the Rev. Thomas Brown, M. A. Rivingtons.

THIS collection of testimonies is justly entitled to high praise; and the more, that the compiler, in a short and modest preface, does not assume to himself more credit than he deserves. The different parts of the case are well arranged; the witnesses are well selected; and their evidence is brought forward with skill, and well strung together by the connecting remarks in the text, and by the notes and illustrations. If there is sometimes the fault of incompleteness, there is always the merit of brevity. The work, on the whole, will be found an attractive and useful introduction to more extended researches.

RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY.

Discourses by the late Rev. John B. Patterson, A. M., Minister of Falkirk; to which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life, and Select Literary and Religious Remains. In 2 vols. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

WE have laid aside some other pieces of biography, in order that we may afford a little more space to the Life and Remains of Mr. Patterson. The Memoir is pleasingly and affectionately written. It tells us that Mr. Patterson was born in 1804, and cut off in 1835 at the early age of thirty-one. It also informs us that there had been evinced "a disposition on the part of Mr. Secretary Peel to promote the settlement of Mr. Patterson in some sphere of ministerial labour. This he was soon enabled to do. In the course of 1829, the large and populous parish of Falkirk in Stirlingshire, becoming vacant by the death of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Mr. Patterson was presented to it by the crown."—vol. i. p. 215.

"Mr. Patterson's appointment gave universal satisfaction to the parishioners of Falkirk, and furnishes another instance of the judicious manner in which the honourable Secretary exerted his Scottish patronage during the period in which he held the seals of office. On the 26th of February 1830 the young incumbent was ordained by the presbytery of Linlithgow."—vol. i. p. 217.

"He himself entered with the strength of hope upon his labours; but, as we have seen, there was no overweening reliance upon his own abilities and ideal energies. His field of preparatory study had been an unusually wide one, yet he continued to prepare himself for his public labours with diligence and industry. He might have little knowledge of the world, as the phrase goes, but he had a higher gift,

a profound knowledge of the nature of man; and of this knowledge he never failed to avail himself in his ministrations. But, over and above all, he felt the high sanctions and powerful motives of his calling. He was filled with a deep and pervading sense of ministerial responsibility. The infinite worth of the never-dying soul, in its tremendous capabilities of happiness or misery, were with him an awful incitement to vigilance."—vol. i. pp. 218, 219.

"As a preacher, Mr. Patterson at once rose into the very first class in public estimation. There was nothing *bizarre* about him to attract,—no forced peculiarities of style or manner, such as often for a while engage and amuse the capriciousness of popular admiration; but there was every grace of scholarship, and fervid and flowing eloquence,—high powers of reasoning united to a glowing and plastic imagination,—together with an extensive and accurate knowledge of scripture doctrine, and, over and above all, a high devotional spirit, and the manifestation of an unction which intimated that he preached the Gospel of his Lord from full conviction and deep feeling, and was not one of those 'who can speak of the glories of Christ, and the eternal interests of men, as coldly as if he were reading a lecture in mathematics, or an experiment in natural philosophy.' We have indeed heard him charged with an elaborate and artificial style of preaching,—a manner too rhetorical and declamatory; but the objection never appeared to us well founded.—vol. i. pp. 229, 230.

"Mr. Patterson's remains were interred in the burying-ground of his church, on the 3d of July. They were followed to the grave by a large concourse of his mourning parishioners, and a numerous assemblage of friends from all parts of the country. We saw many eyes filled with blinding tears during the mournful ceremony, and all classes of the community seemed to participate in the common grief.

"In his person Mr. Patterson scarcely reached the middle size; but he was well-proportioned, and endowed with considerable muscular energy. His complexion was usually pale, and his features had little versatility of expression; their general cast was that of mingled thoughtfulness and modesty,—but when lighted up in the fervour of public speaking or animated conversation, they displayed great animation."—vol. i. p. 297.

Such is the close: such is the brief epitome of a very active and useful life.

But these two volumes are chiefly composed of the Discourses and Literary Remains. The former show to us that Mr. Patterson was a young and ambitious man;—ambitious, we mean, with that ambition which is compatible with the sincerest piety: and that he possessed very high capabilities which a more mature age would have developed, and sanguine aspirations which a more mature age might have realized. His early death was a real loss to the Church of Scotland: but his sermons, as they are, do not appear to us a safe model for its preachers, particularly for those who, in their eloquent boyhood, are already struggling for celebrity; they are too strained, too turgid, filled with too many artifices and efforts of fancy and rhetoric, too many expressions such as "*out-flashing*," and "*rainbow-diademed*," with quoted scraps of poetry interspersed, which, by unduly stimulating the imagination, and putting it upon excursive flights, divert the mind from the moral and spiritual impression. Mr. Patterson

had not yet arrived at that steady—yet not bald—*directness*, which is the greatest excellence of style; he had not yet learnt the persuasiveness of idiomatic language, and the almost irresistible weight of earnest simplicity. Let our readers take the description of Lot's wife.—

“At the sudden touch of death's petrific rod, she stiffened where she stood; and encrusted, as would appear, with the saline and bituminous elements which, stirred by God's own hand, were moving to bear their part in the coming overthrow, she so remained for generations, a sign of wonder and of fear, upon the shore of that sullen and deathful sea, which had overwhelmed the cities of her love,—the salt statue gazing over the salt sea, and presenting so to all spectators a terrible example of that community of punishment which awaits all those who are joined to transgressors in community of affection,—a terrible warning of the peril which they incur who choose to loiter, when summoned by the voice of God to flee.”—vol. ii. pp. 202, 203.

The same qualities are displayed in the “*Literary Remains*.” The “*Miscellaneous Poetical Pieces*” we cannot admire: they seem to us another instance of that frequent but curious phenomenon, that a man may indulge, as if by necessity of mental constitution, rather than by choice, in the most poetical and highly wrought prose; and yet his genius quite deserts him, and his power altogether evaporates, when he comes to the confinement by metre. The “*School Exercises*” are certainly not *better* than the average compositions of boys in the sixth form of our English public schools; the Latin verses are almost poor: the Greek Hexameters, in imitation of a passage in Shakspeare, are much better, only they ought to have been Iambics. The paper on the “*Metaphysics of Mathematical Science*” displays very considerable talent and subtlety of thought; and the “*Essay on the Eloquence of the Pulpit*” indicates capacities which might have done great things when chastened by additional years, and disciplined by study and experience. At the same time, as our extracts may demonstrate, it is not a very trust-worthy performance when viewed as a piece of criticism. We scarcely recognize Butler and Barrow in the following delineations; nor should we have guessed, if left to ourselves, that they were the subjects of them: while the comparison between Bishop Horsley and Achilles really reminds us of poor Polonius and the “very like a whale.”

“The first example of pulpit eloquence I shall select, is the illustrious Bishop Butler. It may at first appear somewhat strange to select Butler as an example of eloquence. His eloquence is indeed coy and unobtrusive; it requires deep thought and fixed attention to apprehend; but when once apprehended, it is found to be one of the sublimest forms which eloquence can assume. It depends for its effect on the simple majesty of truth; for it consists in the sublimity of thought, and not on the power of expression; it rejects all art and ornament; it is pure and unmixed and uncoloured like the light, and is known and felt rather by what it shows than by what it is. Yet, to any mind that has followed that marvellous intellect through his majestic speculations, I need scarcely call to remembrance how often the thrill and the glow of resistless eloquence rushed upon his mind, even through that plain, and unambitious, and unimpassioned style. The mind is partly subdued into a reverent admiration for him who, so like a

pure, passionless, unembodied intelligence, unfolds the secrets of the Eternal Reason; and partly lifted up in its own consciousness of a celestial elevation and expansion of spirit,—enlarged almost to a new capacity of thought,—filled with a solemn and awful delight as it perceives, pierced by the light of that radiant intellect, the obscuring clouds that used to sit upon the face of nature open and roll away. The feelings which the attentive mind experiences in accompanying his calm and solemn flight as he wheels round and round the universe, unfolding at every circuit wider views, and detecting movements going on of the highest moment, where all we thought was void and formless, are such as we might conceive the feelings of the eagle to be—if an eagle may be imagined rational—when, in a calm and liquid day, she forsakes the agitation and gloom of this dull earth, and, amid the sunlight on which she alone of all living things can gaze undazzled, bends ardently yet serenely her course into purer and yet purer air, beholding from her watch-tower in the skies the whole scheme of earthly things spread out in prospect beneath her; until at last she reaches an elevation the most ethereal in which her wings can play, and floating suspended there, she feels at once her own weakness and her own power,—the power that lifted her so high, the weakness that restrains her further flight. Such is the sort of sublime feeling which the simple intellectual eloquence of Butler produces,—a sensation of calmness, and ethereality, and mighty yet circumscribed power, and clarified views towards what is known, and humbled feeling towards the unknown immensity. But perhaps the feature which, of all others in Butler's compositions, strikes us with admiration, is the perfect freedom and unconsciousness of effort with which he ascends the loftiest summits of speculation. He seems not to discover by reasoning, but to behold by intuition. He does not so much prove his conclusion as reveal it. He shows no symptoms of that panting exhaustion which generally discovers itself in those who are climbing high upon the steep of truth; he seems to breathe the more freely the higher he ascends. And, on the whole, he produces such an impression of mighty power, yet power entirely under his command, that no one, I think, who is able to follow him, can refuse to feel, even from the plainness of his language, the impulse of a potent and spiritual eloquence.

“Very different from the character of unconscious might, which we have just remarked in Butler, are the peculiarities of the eloquence which distinguishes the next personage we have to mention, Doctor Samuel Horsley, well known as Dean of St. Alban's, and Bishop of Rochester and St. Asaph's. He was an individual of the most remarkable intellectual talents, both for grasping the great and handling the minute. And he never, for one moment, loses the consciousness of those talents, nor even attempts to hide that consciousness from others. Nor is it one of the lowest proofs of the mastery of his writings, that the expressions of self-confidence, which would be felt as disgusting arrogance in others, do not appear in Horsley more than a proper sense of his own faculties. We allow Bacon to say, ‘These are the meditations of Francis of Verulam, which for posterity to know he deemed it their interest.’ We permit Milton, in the entrance on his high adventure, to declare that his song ‘with no middle flight intends to soar above the Aonian mount,’ and, amid the visions of his glorious youth,

to pledge himself to the production of a 'work which posterity should not willingly suffer to die.' And it is only from one approaching them in genius that we can hear without impatience similar expressions of self-conscious power:

Quid

Proferet hic tanto dignum promissor hiatu?

But Horsley's expressions are always carried out by his achievements, and the audacity of his expressions verified by the corresponding boldness of his genius. He never turns aside to avoid a dangerous point; he never allows a symptom of distrust in his cause, or his own ability to support it, to escape from him; he occupies the challenger's tent,—he glories like a war horse in the battle. This romantic boldness of mind he has embodied in a highly appropriate and expressive style,—always nervous, pointed, and compact,—often fervent, and not seldom brilliant, with a tinge of archaism that throws a richness over it which its intrinsic qualities scarcely possess. Armed with such a genius and such a style, it is easy to imagine the sort of feeling with which the eloquence produced by their union affects the mind. It is the feeling with which we regard Achilles raging through the field in the pride of unquaking courage and resistless strength,—bearing his shield but for ornament, and wearing no scabbard for his sword,—scorning the flourish and the courtesies of arms, and dealing on every side plain, downright, deathful blows,—a feeling of awe and romantic admiration and turbulent delight, not unmingled with the sentiment that our admiration might yet have risen to a higher pitch had its object been less a hero and more a man. In one respect, however, the comparison fails. Achilles rages, but Horsley is always calm. In his most overwhelming periods he retains perfect self-possession; he rules his own feelings with cool superiority, while he stirs ours to a whirlwind, and seems less to resemble the warrior, when, after having goaded himself to fury, he plunges into the tumult of the fight, than the god sitting in calm and stable serenity above the thunder-cloud, and with his red bolts convulsing nature, himself unmoved."—vol. i. pp. 393—397.

"Barrow's style is a chain of strong and bold concatenation, intertwined round about with flowers; it is a valuable but homely setting, sprinkled all over with delicately finished jewellery; it is a structure contrived and made for use, but adventitiously beautified with a rich array of ivy and odoriferous woodbine. To read this author's works is like travelling in one of those sweet but unobtrusive paths so often to be met with in the southern half of the island, which, on a general view, make no violent claim on our admiration, like Scotland's majestic mountain-tracks, or her romantic glens, but which, on that account, yield us, as we proceed, a more gradual and insinuating pleasure; at every step we come upon some minute and delicate delight,—a flower blooming in unostentatious loveliness,—a butterfly sporting in aerial mirth around the leaves and the blossoms,—a gush of melody pouring from the heart of the verdurous hedge-row, or an odour of hawthorn-blossoms waxing faint around us, like the breath of her we love."—vol. i. pp. 398, 399.

We cannot pretend to judge whether the subjoined portrait is more exact:—it is of Dr. Gordon, the celebrated minister of the Scotch Church.

"His strength lies in plain, downright, home-striking earnestness. It is the

kindling of the rational and religious mind within, regarding with something like adequate ideas the worth of the soul and the realities of eternity, that flashes from his deep and melancholy eye over his lofty marble brow, and the strong lines of a most speaking countenance,—that quivers like an agony over all his frame,—that sets his words on fire, and wings their utterance as with lightning,—that hurries away the reason, and electrifies the very heart of the listening multitude. It is wonderful to observe how his mind, when thus excited, heaps up thought and expression on his theme with something like ‘the prodigality of heaven.’ Idea follows idea,—sentence succeeds to sentence,—in what seems interminable concatenation. At every full and harmonious close we expect to find the subject exhausted: but no! the torrent pours on,—the billows dash upon the shore only to be succeeded by loftier and more sounding waves,—the thunder-peal rolls and deepens along the sky; when suddenly, and even though the mind has been watching for a close, in some measure unexpectedly, the thunder has ceased; the waves have subsided; the torrent has passed by; the voice of the preacher ceases, and the strained minds of the audience are relaxed, just when the tension had reached its highest and almost intolerable pitch. In one word, with respect to these qualities of intensity and fervour, Dr. Gordon is the Demosthenes of the pulpit.”—vol. i. pp. 403, 404.

RELIGIOUS POETRY, &c.

The Solace of Song. Short Poems suggested by Scenes visited on a Continental Tour, chiefly in Italy.

“Song,” we fear, affords little “solace” in these days to those who write it by profession. From the expensive and very elegant manner in which the volume has been got up, we should hope that the author is in easy circumstances, and can look without terror on a printer’s bill. In this respect, there is some ambition: but otherwise, his wing is of no daring flight. The strain is gentle, melancholy, sometimes sweet, and sometimes rather obscure, but by no means stirring and vigorous enough to cause any sensation; although some of the subjects, such as St. Roch, Elba, Florence, the Sky of Rome, the Tiber, the Coliseum, Sorrento, Vesuvius, are almost poetry in themselves. The *piety* of the writer is conspicuous both in the poetical effusions, and also in the preface.

Thumata, or the spirit of Death. London.

THIS is another specimen how easy and common a thing it is in times of general education and refinement to write smooth and polished lines, while the author is quite unable to make himself a name, or render himself distinguishable among the tribe of poetical adventurers.

For any account of “*Bethlehem*,” a poem; the “*Outcast*,” a poem, and some other publications which cannot fairly be brought within the scope and range of our Review, we really have no room. For the rest, both prose and verse we can, if it be requisite, transplant into our pages; and if our criticism should be harsh, our extracts may do an author justice. But we cannot trans-

plant the plates and engravings, such as illustrate, for instance, the "Solace of Song," nor can our words convey any pictorial effects. We feel this to be a misfortune with regard to the illustrative works of the day, such as Mr. Finden's, Mr. Winkle's, and Mr. Britton's. We cannot bring English and Continental Cathedrals before the visual sense of our readers; and our mere praise must seem cold at first, and grows tedious by repetition.

There are before us, several cheap publications, most useful and praiseworthy in their way,—and among them the "*Poor Churchman's Quarterly Magazine*," for which we regret our inability to do more at present, than thus generally direct public attention to their merits.

Among a variety of other works, more or less important, as well as of tracts, pamphlets, and single sermons, almost without number, the most noticeable, we think, are the "*Account of the Welsh Saints*;" "*The Scripture Account of the Sabbath, in Answer to Archbishop Whately, by Archdeacon Stopford*;" "*The Sermons on the Commandments, by E. R. Larken*;" "*Sermons on the Leading Points of Christian Doctrine and Duty, by the Rev. J. Boyle, B. C. L.*;" "*The Christian Correspondent, with a Preliminary Essay, by James Montgomery*,"—a publication in three volumes, which will afford great comfort and delight to the serious reader; "*The Monk of Cimiés*," a curious kind of religious romance, which contains many passages of ability and interest, but, on the whole, is not much to our taste, and exhibits, we think, a good deal more of partiality than of knowledge; "*Grinfield on the Image and Likeness of God in Man*;" the new series of Mr. Cator's *Letters on the Church*; Mr. Maitland's excellent exposition of the *Voluntary System*; the "*Sermons and Norrisian Prize Essay of the Rev. T. Stone*;" "*Holland's Memento of the Protestant Reformation*;" and the admirable Sermon of Mr. J. W. Warton on *Holy Matrimony*.

Since our account for the quarter was closed,—and we kept it open as long as we possibly could,—we have received *Proofs and Illustrations of the Attributes of God, by J. Macculloch, M.D., F.R.S. Three Volumes. James Duncan, Paternoster Row.—Vol. XXII. of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, containing the Life of Henry the Eighth*, a subject which might well claim a long article for itself.—*Mills's Apology for the Church of England.—Remarks on the Aristotelian and Platonic Ethics, by the Rev. Frederick Oakeley*, an essay which might carry us far into the great subjects of classical philosophy and university education.—*The Efficacy of the Gospel: A Sermon by the Rev. W. Woodis Harvey, Joint-Curate of Falmouth.—The Young Churchman's Advocate*, and several Pamphlets. We can at present only return our thanks for these books: to criticise them now is out of the question, as we cannot yet pretend to have examined them. And if, two days from the time at which we are writing, we were to send to our publisher's, we should probably find as many more. We may, therefore, be forgiven, if, amidst this multiplicity, many very deserving publications are passed over without sufficient notice, or even without any. Yet we are anxious to furnish a complete account of Theological Literature, English and Foreign; and thus it becomes a difficult question what, in this respect, it is best for us to do.

GENERAL FUND

FOR THE

RELIEF OF THE DISTRESS OF THE CLERGY IN IRELAND.

67 Lincoln's-Inn Fields, January, 1837.

THE COMMITTEE appointed at the Public Meeting held at Freemason's Hall, December 3, 1835, for raising a Fund for the Relief of the IRISH CLERGY, have received various official communications from different Provinces and Dioceses of Ireland, exhibiting the apportionment of the sums remitted thither through the hands of his Grace the Lord Primate; and expressing, in terms of the most affectionate gratitude, the acknowledgments of the suffering Irish Clergy for the aid so seasonably and cheerfully afforded by their Protestant Brethren. It will be the duty of the Committee, when they shall have closed the administration of the trust confided to them, to render to the Subscribers a full account of their proceedings.—In the mean time they have much satisfaction in laying before them the following interesting Report from his Grace the Primate, who has superintended the distribution of the fund with the most anxious vigilance and attention, and in a manner that has justly called forth the grateful acknowledgments of the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland. His Grace's report relates to the former fund, of 1833, as well as to the present.

TO THE LONDON COMMITTEE FOR THE RELIEF
OF THE IRISH CLERGY.

Armagh, Dec. 31, 1836.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN submitting the following statement of the expenditure of the funds transmitted to me for distribution in aid of the Irish Clergy, I beg to accompany it with a few observations illustrative of the character and extent of the sufferings which called forth this most seasonable and munificent act of sympathy on the part of the British public.

Never, perhaps, in the annals of a civilized country, in which the authority of existing laws was still acknowledged, and the power of enforcing them supposed to reside, is there to be found a more signal instance of their defeat or evasion, than in the systematic opposition by which the Irish Clergy have been defrauded of their undoubted right in the property of Tithe. Under the Composition Acts, it was hoped that the collection of tithe would have been attended with no difficulty, inasmuch as the terms of the arrangement were highly advantageous to the tithe-payer, and as every grievance incidental to this ancient provision for an Established Church had been effectually removed.

The just expectations of the Clergy were, however, in a short time disappointed; and it became manifest that the real objection to tithe arose, not from the mode of collection, or any excess of demand, but from the property itself, as an endowment of a Protestant Church. Every species of invective and misrepresentation, together with the most harassing legal opposition; every act of outrage and intimidation, were accordingly unceasingly employed to defraud the Clergy of their claims, recently adjusted, and to deter even the orderly and well-disposed from the payment of what they acknowledged to be due and what

if suffered to pursue the dictates of their own consciences, they would have unhesitatingly and cheerfully paid. The extinction of tithe was thenceforward the watchword of a party ; although it was well understood that the occupiers of the soil, whose relief was the ostensible pretext, would not have been benefited by such a measure. In consequence of a combination thus formed amongst a deluded and infuriated population, that part of the Parochial Clergy whose income was derived from tithe, were, with few exceptions, early reduced to the greatest pecuniary distress. It is true, that, if the law was not vindicated by the prompt exertions of the Government, some assistance was afforded to the Clergy in this unexpected and calamitous state of things. A loan of 60,000*l.* was offered, as a partial succour ; and this loan was resorted to by those Clergymen whose pressing necessities constrained them to seek immediate aid. As a measure of general relief it was totally inadequate ; and, accordingly, Clergymen more fortunately circumstanced, as to the receipt of income, preferred to encounter a little longer the difficulties with which they were surrounded, rather than accept a benevolence when they were entitled to assert a right. They entertained, moreover, a confident expectation that an end must speedily be put, by legislative enactment, to an opposition setting at defiance the powers of Government, and endangering the security, not only of ecclesiastical, but of every other kind of property. During a space of five years the Clergy, particularly in the south, had undergone this species of persecution and robbery with the most exemplary forbearance ; and, so far from having called down upon themselves this unworthy treatment by any exorbitancy or severity of demand, the law was every day becoming more difficult of execution through their leniency and unwillingness to resort to extreme measures. No settlement of the tithe question having been made, some more effectual assistance was called for from the justice of Government, and a grant of one million was accordingly made, to be repaid by five yearly instalments. This no doubt operated as a seasonable relief.

Some notion, however, may be conveyed of the extent to which the tithe combination had prevailed, and of the consequent distress of the Clergy, when it is recollected that the Government loan was an advance of arrears which had accrued during three years; an advance, however, with very considerable deductions—namely, of not less than 25 per cent. on the arrears of 1831 and 1832, and of 15 per cent. on those of 1833, with the forfeiture of all preceding claims by those who accepted the loan.

Thus it appears, that, during the greater part of that period, the Clergy dependent solely on the receipt of tithe had been in a great proportion deprived of professional income. Some of them had exhausted their private means, generally small; and others had contrived to exist on the produce of their several glebes, with the assistance of their friends. Debts had, in consequence, been unavoidably contracted. It was not possible, at least it was not easily practicable, for men accustomed to the decencies and comforts of life to descend at once to the extremes of economy, and the abandonment of every superfluity. The usual expenditure in support of charities was to be continued, unless schools, and other parochial institutions, were given up; the stipends of Curates were to be paid, unless their necessary services were dispensed with, and they themselves dismissed as menial servants; the education of children was to be provided for; and in numerous cases charges on glebe-houses, constituting no small part of the incumbent's embarrassment, were to be paid to the representative of the predecessor. The arrears, in short, of the three years, as it may be well conceived, had been in most cases expended before they were received; and when received, they were applied in discharge of debts contracted during a three years' almost total cessation of tithe income. The Clergy bring forward no accusations; they do but lament that a combination should have been suffered to exist, in any part of the United Empire, powerful enough to resist the ordinary execution of the law, and to make an appeal in their behalf necessary, to the kindness and generosity of their Protestant brethren. I am merely

stating the facts of their embarrassments, and accounting for their continuance after the relief afforded by the loan of one million.—At the end of the year 1834, resistance to the payment of tithe, encouraged by fresh success, became more general and more determined than before; and the distress of the Clergy, in proportion as it was protracted, more urgent. Many of the ordinary cases of suffering have been laid before the public; and some few, approaching to absolute destitution, in which all but the means of scanty subsistence were withdrawn—cases in which there remained no security for life at home, whilst the means of removal were wanting. The general character of the distress was, however, of another kind; it was that of an educated body of men, holding a respectable station in society, driven to seek relief where they had been accustomed to extend it liberally to others; suddenly plunged into pecuniary embarrassments, and harassed with demands which they were unable to satisfy; in danger of forfeiting life insurances, on which they mainly relied as a provision for their families; obliged to deny their children the means of qualifying themselves for professions to which they were destined, or to place them in situations and kinds of occupations far inferior to those which they had fondly hoped to secure for them. In the midst of these personal and domestic afflictions, the Irish Clergy heard themselves accused of being the authors of bloodshed and oppression, and were taunted with the existence of those outrages of which they were the innocent victims. Calumny and insult were thus added to violence and wrong.

At the moment at which this persecution was at its height, and a well-organized attempt was carrying on to subvert the Church Establishment in Ireland, by the ruin and proscription of its Ministers, an appeal was made on their behalf to the British public, to whom no appeal in the cause of unmerited suffering was ever made in vain. The case of the Irish Clergy was stated—spontaneously stated—by their friends in England and Scotland without a suggestion on the part of the sufferers. The appeal was promptly responded to by persons of all ranks throughout

the empire. It was felt that the Protestant religion in Ireland, no less than the lives and property of the Protestant Clergy, was at stake; and it was proudly and nobly said by a Right Rev. Prelate, one of the most ardent advocates of the cause, That if the design was, as it appeared to be, to banish the Clergy of the Established Church by starvation, the enemies of that Church had miscalculated the energies of its friends; and had yet to learn the estimation in which the Irish Church was deservedly held, and their fixed determination to support it.

Contributions to a large amount were speedily placed at the disposal of the London Committee; contributions not only from the members of the United Church, but from those of the Established and Episcopal Churches of Scotland; from Protestant friends at Rome, in Jamaica, in Antigua, and at Calcutta and Madras. Addresses the most affectionate were forwarded to me from religious bodies, and from individuals, in every quarter, testifying their cordial sympathy with the sufferings of the Irish Clergy, and their eagerness to relieve them. With such pregnant proof of the deep interest taken in the well-being and preservation of the Established Church in Ireland, by all classes of men estimable for religious zeal and the most influential in character, I will not suffer myself to despair of her stability, and of the ultimate defeat of the projects of her adversaries. One fact I must be permitted to make known, as equally honourable to the London Committee, and to those on whose Christian feelings and munificence it now appears that they had most justly relied. It is this:—A scale of distribution had been adopted in Ireland, calculated upon the extent of suffering to be relieved, as compared with the funds in hand, at an early stage of the contribution. On being made acquainted with this scale, the Committee, through its organ the Right Rev. Prelate before alluded to, remonstrated with us on our cautious parsimony, encouraging us to extend relief in a far more liberal proportion, and bidding us trust with confidence to the sympathy of our friends in England.

In justification of this assurance, the contributions have,

I believe, exceeded the sanguine anticipations of the Committee, and even of the Right Rev. Prelate himself; and I have received from the Worcester Diocesan Committee 2,000*l.*, from Edinburgh 2,892*l.* 14*s.*, from the Presbytery of Glasgow 833*l.*, and small sums from individuals, beyond what have appeared in the published list of the London Committee, the distribution of which will be found in the account that I have furnished.

It will now be gratifying to the public to learn that their generous endeavours have been productive of substantial relief. The funds transmitted to me have been disbursed through the Bishops of the several dioceses, and by administrators in their confidence. I persuade myself, nay, I am confident, that in no instance has assistance been granted where it was not needed; and that in all instances the service rendered has been most important.

The Irish Clergy owe a debt of gratitude, which they are forward to repay by making mention of their brethren in their prayers to Almighty God, who has thus strengthened the bonds of love by which His servants were before united. Let it, however, be said, in just commendation of the Irish Clergy, that they felt an honest reluctance to become burthensome to others. In most cases their necessities were sought out, and not obtruded by themselves on notice. The amount of suffering endured by this meritorious body of men, in point of harassed spirits, ruined fortunes, and disappointed hopes, is beyond the reach of private munificence, however large. But the more pressing and immediate distress has been for a time averted; and although many a Clergyman will descend to the grave with a broken heart, occasioned by what he has undergone, all will cherish to the last moment of their lives the most grateful feelings towards those who have contributed to relieve sufferings arising from depression of mind, and altered worldly circumstances, by generous aid, and the genuine expressions of Christian condolence. The public will also learn with satisfaction, that a part of the funds contributed remain in the hands of the Committee undistributed, as a resource against the

calamities which may yet await the Irish Clergy. My prayer to Almighty God is, that He will be pleased in His goodness to bless both the givers and the receivers of this noble tribute of Christian benevolence ; vouchsafing to the former a measure of good things, both spiritual and temporal, running over into their bosoms ; and to the latter suitable thankfulness for His mercy in raising up to them kind benefactors in their hour of need ; together with entire resignation to His will, under the evils with which it may please Him, for wise purposes, still further to visit the Irish Church.

I have the honour to be, my Lords and Gentlemen,
your much obliged and faithful servant,

JOHN G. ARMAGH.



Nearly ready, price 4s. 6d.

NO. II. OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND Quarterly Review.

IT is to be hoped that a Periodical professing sound constitutional principles of liberty and order, will receive that patronage which it well merits, *at this crisis*, from all true lovers of their country. The principles of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW are derived from those truths which, based on the oracles of the Lord, are in the keeping of our Apostolical and Episcopal Establishment. To save that revered Establishment from the subversion meditated by open and covert enemies, many of the most eminent literati of the day, both lay and clerical, have resolved to devote all their energies; and the pages of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW will present to the world indubitable evidence of their zeal, ability, and, under God's blessing, their TRIUMPH. The subjoined extracts indicate with what welcome *the first number* has been hailed by the Conservative portion of the public press.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW is an important addition to our periodical literature, and is most ably conducted. On this account we have deemed it of sufficient consequence to recognise its establishment as an event of vast political importance, and cordially to recommend it a place in every family. It is an expensive and a bold speculation, deserving great encouragement, and will be useful exactly in proportion to the earnestness with which the supporters of Church and State render it so by extensive circulation."—*British Standard*.

[Turn over.

"Had the conductors of the present work commenced their righteous labours at an earlier period, they would have been more useful. As it is, such a phalanx, cased in the armour of the faith, and wielding the weapons of learning and piety, must be most welcome to all who are attached to the doctrines and discipline of the Anglican Church, either as the purest form of the Christian faith, or the surest bulwark of our civil liberties. The fifth article of the present number is an able and unsparing dissection of Lord Brougham's 'Discourse of Natural Theology.' In the article on the 'Voluntary Principle' there is a good examination and exposure of the mischievous fallacies of the *Westminster Review* on that subject. The sins of omission and of commission which distinguish the Whig-Radical 'Marriage and Registration Acts'—the arbitrary, vexatious, expensive, and bungling nature of the provisions in those 'great measures'—are exhibited in the seventh article. The eighth contains a History of the Progress and character of Religious Poetry in this Country, from 'The Visions of Pierce Plowman,' antecedent to Chaucer, to the religious effusions of the late Felicia Hemans. It is written with feeling and discrimination. There are a number of other articles, and some brief reviews, which will be found well worthy the attention of the reader. Among others, the tenth, on the 'Catholic Church,' will be found to contain a lucid and argumentative exposure of the presumptuous and schismatical usurpations of the Church of Rome; and of the interested and audacious imposture which would cheat, or bully, the world into receiving as revealed truth the selfish and arbitrary innovations of the Roman pontiff. The reading and the religious world will, we should think, receive with a cordial welcome the first number of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW. The undertaking deserves the patronage of those 'who fear God and honour the King.'—*Morning Post*.

"This is just the work that has been called for. It comes forth a bold and honest champion of the Church, to institute 'a crusade against the triple alliance of infidelity, liberalism, and papistry.' Its claims upon public patronage and confidence are therefore great; and it rejoices us to say that its powers are fully equal to the Herculean task that it has undertaken. The Introduction is done by an able hand: it probes the diseased part, and then grasping the knife, proceeds, *secundum artem*, to remove the corrupted matter from the very *caries*. The articles are written in a strain as pious and patriotic as they are able and elegant. We warmly and religiously recommend the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW to the attention of all who are interested in the support of Christianity against Catholicism, and Royalty in opposition to Revolution.—*Church of England Family and Protestant Herald*.

"Although we have spent our time so pleasantly and usefully, in perusing this ponderous but elegant Review, we really can scarcely do any thing like justice to it. The introductory portion is an eloquent, philosophical, and convincing appeal on behalf of the Church of England; and a bold, sweeping, and slashing condemnation of the present Administration. The conclusion of the first article is a noble outburst of generous, ardent patriotism.—'For England there is no middle choice, between her being the empress of the sea, the bulwark of religious liberty, the arbitress of nations, and taking rank—we will not say below Sicily or Sardinia—but beneath contempt. Yes, Englishmen must be *free, or cease to exist*. To use the language which Demosthenes applied to the Athenians—"They are neither willing to be slaves, nor, though they were, do they know how, for they have been accustomed to command." The disquisition on Lord Brougham's flimsy and unsatisfactory scribbles of Natural Theology is keen and searching. 'Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century' claims diligent and attentive perusal. It is an able digest of the religious writings of our ancient and modern writers. We most cordially recommend this work to our numerous clerical readers. It is a new and powerful ally to a great and noble cause; and if the proprietor proceeds with the same indefatigable industry and skill, we doubt not of his reward.'—*Metropolitan Conservative Journal*.

"THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW has made its appearance. Its ends and objects are eloquently set forth in an introduction: and as far as we are able to judge from a hasty perusal of the work, it bids fair to fulfil the hopes and realize the expectations of its originator, and form a valuable auxiliary in support of that which, if it fall, will carry with it all that remains of our once glorious Constitution."—*John Bull*.

"Much learning and talent are displayed by our new contemporary, who has taken up the cause of the Church with a strong and zealous hand."—*Literary Gazette*.

"It is impossible to estimate too highly, in times like these, a publication whose purpose is to rally the affections of our countrymen around the altars of our reformed faith, and fight for its menaced institutions, against the foes who are come up against it on all sides."—*United Service Gazette*.

"One of the ablest of champions is this, in the best of causes. We have often deeply lamented the want of a periodical specially devoted to the advocacy of Protestant principles, and conducted; at the same time, with a zeal and talent which should make it be sought after, and place the interests of Divine truth upon at least a fair footing with the interests of parties, and the principles of worldly philosophy, which find no lack of powerful and richly endowed minds to exert their energies in their behalf. The desideratum is supplied in the work before us. Uniting in the highest degree the mental qualities requisite for successful literary exertion, with a bold and honest adherence to the grand truths of

Christianity, it will prove a most invaluable auxiliary, in the great and final struggle which has yet to be made in this land, for the preservation of all that, as Englishmen and Protestants, we hold dear. Among the contents of the present number we may particularly enumerate two clever and learned articles upon the 'Treatment of the Sacred Scriptures by the Church of Rome,' and the 'Character and Progress of Religious Poetry.' We would remark, in conclusion, that there can never be a better opportunity for subscribers giving in their names, this being the first number of the work."—*Liverpool Courier*.

"The work before us is a valuable addition to our periodical literature. In it we recognise the hands of 'Masters in Israel,'—we see learning, genius, and devotion, mustering their forces against the empire of darkness. Good must inevitably result from such a hallowed combination of mental energy with religious zeal—of varied and deep erudition with christian sincerity. The Introduction is a splendid piece of composition—replete with deep learning, forcible eloquence, and sound argument: it is an appeal which we are sure will be responded to with heartfelt enthusiasm. The review of Dr. Wiseman's 'Lectures' is a masterly exposition of the dangerous subtleties propounded by the Popish professor on the doctrine of the *Real Presence*. 'The Treatment of the Sacred Scriptures by the Modern Church of Rome,' is another spirited attack upon the strongholds of Popery. The review of Lord Brougham's 'Natural Theology' is a rich specimen of criticism. We recommend the article on the 'Voluntary Principle' to the serious consideration of Dissenters in general. It puts the question in the clearest light, and denudes its advocates of every claim to the character of honest reasoners. 'The Marriage and Registration Acts' are dissected in an article of very great ability. We cordially recommend this work to the notice of our clerical friends in particular. To them it must present attractions of no ordinary character. Indeed to every Churchman its contents must prove interesting."—*Liverpool Standard*.

"We have often wondered that a body numbering in its ranks so many men of great learning and high talent as the High Church party in this country unquestionably does, should not have possessed a periodical exclusively devoted to its interests. These interests, it is true, have to a certain extent been attended to in the *Quarterly Review*, but it has long appeared to us that the questions at issue between the Church and its opponents were sufficiently important to induce the former to establish a work in which ecclesiastical subjects alone should be treated. The want has at last been supplied by the work before us; and though we are persuaded that its conductors have taken the field at too late a period of the contest to allow them any reasonable hopes of success in stemming the torrent of public opinion, it cannot be denied that they have brought with them an extent of erudition and a warmth of zeal worthy of a better cause. All the articles in this the first number, are, with a single exception, of an ecclesiastical nature. It opens with an *exposé* of the principles on which the work is intended to be conducted. A considerable portion of the work contains an Ecclesiastical Report, detailing the proceedings of various ecclesiastical and religious institutions throughout the country. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW is beautifully printed on fine paper, and at a lower price than almost any other of the leading quarterly periodicals, and contains a considerably larger quantity of letter-press. A beautiful engraving of St. Paul's Cathedral adorns the title-page."—*Liverpool Chronicle*.

"This is a work which we recommend to the notice of our readers, as eminently calculated to serve the cause of sound religion and good government. 'While infidel and radical writers,' say the conductors in their introductory paper, 'are scattering the accursed seeds of treason and unbelief, we purpose devoting ourselves with, we trust, at least equally unweariable zeal to the holy cause of our king, our country, and our God.' We hail with satisfaction the appearance of such an advocate of the good cause; and if the future numbers display as much ability as the first, it requires little foresight to predict that it will soon obtain that influence over the public mind which good principles, ably enforced, never fail to acquire. The subjects of the articles which form the contents of the first number are generally interesting. We must remark, in justice to their respective authors, that the writer of the review of Dr. Wiseman's 'Lectures on the Real Presence in the Eucharist,' has ably vindicated the doctrine of the Reformed Church; that Lord Brougham's 'Natural Theology' is reviewed with great ability; and that the same remark will apply to the papers on the 'Voluntary Principle,' on the 'Treatment of Scripture by the Romish Church,' on the 'Marriage and Registration Acts,' and on the 'Character and Progress of Religious Poetry.' Not the least interesting part of the work is that which is called the Ecclesiastical Report. It contains much highly interesting information respecting the numerous Societies in connexion with the Church, and also of the proceedings of its enemies. What we have said will, we trust, induce our readers to read and judge for themselves."—*Manchester Courier*.

"We hail with delight the first number of a magazine which has long been a desideratum in the religious world. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW dawns upon us in an auspicious season—its title bespeaks its purport—and the times will furnish it with employment. We do not take up the cry of the timid ones of the land, who exclaim in tremulous accents, 'The Church is in danger!' but feeling that whilst there is so much of the radical spirit of spoliation afloat, there is abundant need of a champion like the one before us, we shout with exceeding gladness, in the words of its own motto, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' The Church is now championed—and that, too, by a knight,

who in external appearance throws all competitors into the shade, and whose prowess bids fair to carry every thing victoriously. It remains only for us to give note of the warfare, and, with all our heart, bid 'God defend the right.' The contents of this number are not only various, but excellent in their variety. The article most to our own taste is one 'On the Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century,' which displays great research, and is withal most exquisitely written."—*Manchester Chronicle*.

"Evidently brought out with considerable ability and power."—*Birmingham Advertiser*.

"In every direction, and in all legitimate modes, we rejoice to say, the Church of England is awakening and putting on her strength. As a proof of this, in addition to other periodicals devoted to her interests, a new 'Quarterly Review' has just made its appearance, which promises the most essential support to our persecuted Establishment. We are confident that it will be regarded favourably by the great body of Churchmen—as indeed it deserves to be. It is written in an unaffected but dignified style, befitting the cause it supports; there is no uncalled-for warmth of language or manner; and though the writers are evidently capable of wielding the lash, they but rarely, and then only in flagrant cases, use it. The review of the Marriage and Registration Acts is a masterly *exposé* of Radical 'instalment' legislation. The writer ably dissects these Acts, clause by clause, and holds them up to public gaze in all their native deformity, and shows their practical evils and blunders with much force and clearness. An article entitled 'The Voluntary System' completely strips the mask from off this much vaunted system, and ably exposes its festering nature and effects. The other articles are exceeding well written."—*Bristol Journal*.

"The appearance of this periodical at the present moment is most welcome; and from the very superficial glance we have taken at its contents, we are inclined to believe that it is conducted in a manner worthy of the high and important cause which it professes to aid. We would particularly direct attention to the article on 'The Catholic Church,' the introductory passage of which affords a most satisfactory insight to the views and principles which we may expect to find exhibited and advocated in its pages.—We are pledged to take a decided stand against all those, by whatsoever name they may be called, who would disturb our Church by corrupting, disfiguring, or adding to, the simplicity, beauty, and completeness of the doctrines which she holds."—*Salisbury and Wilts Herald*.

"We hail with great pleasure the appearance of another champion to defend the venerable and excellent Establishment to which this country owes so many temporal and spiritual blessings. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW contains some very learned and able papers on a variety of subjects, either directly or indirectly connected with religion. It attacks, with no feeble arm, the strongholds of sectarian animosity and deistical sophistry, and holds out cheering promises of ultimate triumph. As the medium of conveying sound information we regard it as peculiarly valuable, and cordially recommend it to favourable notice and efficient support."—*Berkshire Chronicle*.

"The year 1837 commences with an appearance of spirit and intelligence, on the part of Churchmen and Conservatives, which augurs well for our future prospects. The press overflows with right-principled publications of all sorts and prices, from the 'Penny Sunday Reader' up to the handsome octavo before us. For all such we claim the support of right-thinking men; but especially do we hope to find that the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY, containing all the politico-religious information of the quarter, (if the first number be a fair specimen), and upholding Conservative policy on Church-of-England principles, will meet with general support from all those who are not ashamed of their cause—the good old cause of Church and King."—*Cambridge Chronicle*.

"We hail the appearance of this work as that of a noble champion in the cause of the Established Church; bringing to the glorious banner he comes to defend the aids of sound learning, acute and powerful argument, and the most piercing wit; clothed in the panoply of truth, ennobled by the righteousness of its cause above all its adversaries, and confronting their myriad ranks with a hope, and trust, and confidence, which must eventually prevail. We beg to call immediate attention to the article on the New Marriage Act."—*Hampshire Advertiser*.

"We need hardly say that we hailed with our best wishes our new ally, and that we were delighted on finding, upon examination of his pretensions, that they were sound in doctrine, and gave promise of a noble triumph. The plan of the work is simple. To the design of the *Quarterly* it adds an Ecclesiastical Report (a paper noticing the proceedings of Societies bearing upon the Established Church), a brief Review of Books, and a List of New Works. The original articles are twelve in number, and in variety, tone, and information, they are worthy of their station. Dr. Wiseman's 'Lectures,' Lord Brougham's 'Natural Theology,' the 'Voluntary Principle,' the 'Marriage and Registration Acts,' the 'Catholic Church,' and the 'Character and Progress of Religious Poetry,' are severally discussed, and with a degree of power and success hitherto attained only by the disciples of the Church of the United Kingdom. We are no prophets, and therefore will not attempt to anticipate what the succeeding numbers will prove, but we are quite satisfied that Henry Lord Brougham for one will thoroughly wish that there had never been such a publication as No. I. of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW."—*Hull Packet*.

"The first number of a periodical under this title has just issued from the press, and gives goodly promise of becoming one of our most influential and intellectual champions in defence of order, loyalty, and religion. The essay on 'Religious Poetry' is admirably written: it is one of the most eloquent and philosophical criticisms that ever fell under our notice. The first article in the *REVIEW* contains many excellent and pithy comments on the present state of public matters, and gives evidence of the hand of a scholar."—*Nottingham Journal*.

"In a former paper we drew the attention of our readers to this excellent publication. A more intimate acquaintance with the whole of its contents enables us to confirm the opinion we then expressed, that it must take a very high rank in the periodical literature of the day. The various articles are written with great vigour and talent; and, did our space permit, we could enrich our columns with extracts on matters of religion, politics, and literature, which would afford brilliant and intellectual specimens of genius and philosophy, that cannot fail to command the notice and approbation of those who are desirous of upholding the matchless institutions of the empire. We heartily wish the *CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW* the success it so well deserves."—*Ibid*.

"This is a work which is likely to supply a long felt deficiency. Many as have been the different styles of periodicals devoted to religion, and praiseworthy as they mostly are, we do not remember having met with one exclusively devoted to the criticism of sacred literature before this, and we are happy to give our mead of praise to the able manner in which the design of the projectors is carried on. The comparative notices of the works are soundly and classically done; particularly an article reviewing Lord Brougham's 'Natural Theology,' of which it makes a thorough exposure, shewing the *depth* of that great politician to be any thing but extreme in theological matter. We would gladly, but our limits will not allow of it, quote from this article—we can only refer our readers to it. As an entire paper, it is perhaps one of the best *exposés* of a heap of fashionable fallacy we ever read."—*Lincolnshire Chronicle*.

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"We hailed with satisfaction the appearance of this goodly periodical. To the grave, solid consistent member of our orthodox Establishment, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW will be likely to be a welcome book. Nor let it be imagined by those who now hear of this periodical for the first time, that it is intended merely to emulate those literary squibs and crackers—insignificant, it may be, in themselves, but mischievous enough in their effects, just as a spark may explode a powder magazine—which are now so plentiful; it is rather, a sort of religio-literary thirty-six pounder, and must do good service in the good cause. Besides excellent papers on questions pertaining to the Anglican and Roman Churches, and a variety of minor notices, there are powerful essays on the 'Voluntary Principle,' on the 'Nature and Extent of Religious Belief,' on a number of publications

arising out of Lord Brougham's 'Discourse of Natural Theology, and on the 'New Marriage and Registration Acts;' also an extended well-written article of a pleasing nature, on the 'Character and Progress of Religious Poetry.' The ex-Chancellor cuts a most sorry figure in the hands of some of the champions of truth in this controversy. That crude medley of experimental legislation, the New Marriage and Registration Acts, is shown up in good style. We most heartily recommend this periodical to the pious and learned clergy, as well as to the intelligent members of our Church generally."—*Sheffield Mercury*.

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"We welcome the appearance of this periodical publication, the first number of which contains several interesting and important articles. With the object and general principles of the Review we most heartily concur, and, from the learning and talent displayed, we anticipate that the friends of the Church will endeavour to secure to it a corresponding success. We regard the articles on Lord Brougham's Natural Theology, and on Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, as very powerful pieces of criticism; and other parts of the work bear the stamp of strong intellect, and well-considered knowledge. The information on Church matters will, at the present period, be of great use and interest, especially to the clergy. The paper on the Marriage and Registration Acts is written with consummate ability. There are other literary subjects which cannot fail to attract the attention, and gratify the taste of the general reader. In this number, we may particularly refer to the able article on the 'Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century.'"—*Durham Advertiser*.

"This new periodical has been called into existence by the peculiar aspect of the times. Its title sufficiently indicates its leading object, which is to defend the Church of England against its religious and political opponents. In an Introduction of some length, written with great vigour, a rapid view is given of some of those political measures, which the present Government is attempting to carry into effect, and which appear to be fraught with imminent danger, not only to our Protestant religious Establishments, but to the British Monarchy itself. The writer shows, in a very satisfactory manner, that the democratic and levelling doctrines so recklessly encouraged and patronised by the Whig-Radical Cabinet, are utterly incompatible with the permanent stability of our time-hallowed institutions, either in Church or State. The second article contains an able and dispassionate review of Dr. Wiseman's 'Lectures on the Real Presence.' It disposes of the philological argument most satisfactorily, and cannot fail to carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind. The third article embodies a good deal of historical information on the 'Treatment of the Sacred Scriptures by the Modern Church of Rome.' The most elaborate article in the number is, perhaps, that on Lord Brougham's 'Natural Theology.' It displays a very intimate acquaintance with the subject, and exposes his Lordship's blunders in metaphysics, theology, and Greek, with an unsparing hand. We cannot refrain from noticing, in the highest terms of approbation, an article on the 'Character and Progress of Religious Poetry.' Here every mind, not dead to the finer sympathies of our nature, will find abundant sources of the purest enjoyment. The reviewer has brought to his task an intimate acquaintance with our poetical literature, and a fine perception of poetical excellence. He has culled many of the choicest passages from the whole range of our sacred poets, and by his just and eloquent comments, has displayed their beauties to the greatest advantage. We can only point attention to the articles on the Voluntary Principle, and on the new Marriage Act for England. They merit a careful perusal. In conclusion, we heartily wish success to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW. It advocates a good cause—the cause of our ecclesiastical and civil institutions—of virtue, of religion, and of public order."—*Edinburgh Advertiser*.

"The magnificent periodical before us is destined, we apprehend, to be of signal service, not only to the Church, of which it is the authorised organ, but to the cause of religion and liberty. The first number, which we have just perused, is what we expected from the champions of a Church, which has ever embraced in the ranks of its defenders, the dominant intellects of the age. The several articles on Politics, Theology, and general Literature, bear the impress of profound erudition and originality, and comprehensiveness of thought. The occasion of its appearance at the present moment, is worthy of its lofty title. The opening sentence of the Introduction, from the pen of a master, throws down the gauntlet of defiance against all heterodoxy, in language which cannot be mistaken. We doubt not but this grand design will recommend the work to the favourable reception of every enlightened Briton. That a 'triple alliance' exists in this country and at the present period, and that a crusade as that here pointed out is necessary to dash it to pieces, and to erect on its ruins the standard of Old England's faith and freedom, waving triumphantly over every hamlet, and revered by every heart, are truths of homefelt consciousness. Besides its chief design to exalt the banner of truth over error and licentiousness, we hail the appearance of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW, as a great accession to our literature. Apart from the powerful political articles of the volume, it contains some in theological and general literature of sterling merit. The former, though more adapted to the divinity student, from the scholar-like manner in which they are treated, will be of immense advantage to every one who loves comprehensive and erudite

illustrations of the doctrines of his Bible. In every point of view, it is worthy the encouragement of every intelligent individual. The sentiments it enforces are of primal importance to the well-being of the people; its literature is of a more massive and enduring caste than that of the generality of periodicals, and its writers are among the first of Englishmen.—*Glasgow Constitutional*.

"This is a work of such superior merit, that our only regret is, the impossibility of doing justice to it within the narrow limits by which our literary notices are necessarily circumscribed. We have read no work for an age which bids fairer for perpetuity, or has a greater chance to effect solid improvements in the popular mind, upon every great question of ecclesiastical polity, than that now before us. Of the contents of this, the first number, we can speak in terms of unmodified approbation. Whatever zeal, profound learning, and acute reasoning, can accomplish, have been performed by the writers in this admirable Journal. The Introduction is a ponderous piece of writing, worthy of the best periods of British literature. The other articles, including the 'Review of Dr. Wiseman's Lectures,' 'Lord Brougham's Natural Theology,' and the beautiful Essay 'On the Character and Progress of Religious Poetry,' are all admirable. That it will do much good in England we cannot doubt; but our anxiety is to make the Churchmen of Scotland familiar with its high and nobly-sustained pretensions; and we beg to assure its conductors, that they may count upon us as amongst their firmest and best friends."—*Glasgow Courier*.

"It is not our custom to notice our periodical contemporaries; but it would be a custom most 'honoured in the breach,' that should withhold a Conservative Journal from welcoming to the field a confederate so vigorous and promising as THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW. Nor should we, where so many able and intelligent papers and periodicals deserve the highest praise, for their active efficiency in the righteous common cause, think it fitting to pay such a tribute to this first demonstration of one, but for the paramount importance of the ground taken up by our new ally. At this time, it is consoling and encouraging to receive an accession of strength, in a well-written, deeply-learned, and ably-managed English Quarterly, the very motto of which is, our Church's best assurance of victory:

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the promise of God himself. We cordially offer the hand of fellowship to a periodical which enters on our common cause, not only with an uncompromising avowal of our common principles, but which enters the contest with an explicit declaration of the vital and fundamental truth, so apt to be lost sight of in the clash of human strife, that we are 'of the fold of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' We are not less satisfied with the political opinions which THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND REVIEW expresses on all the great leading topics of the day. It leaves not a shadow of doubt as to its principles, on any question of moment. In an able Introduction it takes up one by one, and boldly testifies against the accumulated crimes and follies, which have converted reform into destruction. Our contemporary also testifies on the evils of that monstrous abortion of commercial cupidity—of wealth forced from the hotbed of poverty and demoralization—nursed with starvation and female prostitution, and infant sacrifice—that Juggernaut of avarice and cruelty, the manufacturing system. Our new ally strongly deprecates the pernicious separation which has been effected between intellectual and moral education. Knowledge without religion has been made the lever for the Radical to work with—and where religion is not taught, depravity must needs spring up. There is one pledge of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND REVIEW, which specially entitles it to the notice of the Conservative periodicals—the promise to watch over the conduct of the press. Our contemporary has yet, so far as his intention has been carried into practice, judiciously selected his mark. We have gone out of our way to notice this periodical, on account of the frank and uncompromising tone of its promise, and because we think this promise is in a great measure realized in the conduct of its first number. These are not the times when a bold and able confederate should be received by the constitutional press with ungracious silence. We trust the CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY, so auspiciously begun, may be received by the right-thinking portion of the community according to its deserts, and that it may continue long and prosperously to fill the useful office of a Christian Conservative Review."—*Dublin University Magazine*.

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